

ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ'S *PHASES OF MEDIEVAL RULERSHIP*

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Date of receipt: 15th of July, 2019

Final date of acceptance: 17th of February, 2020

ABSTRACT

The Ernst Kantorowicz's personal writings are held at the Leo Baeck Institute Archives in New York City. The "Phases of Medieval Rulership" is a little corpus of unknown pages where the German historian had drafted in the 40's of the 20th century the project of a new book which ultimately remained unpublished. In this article the author analyses the contents of this book comparing different manuscript versions and explaining the historian's version of Medieval history in terms of political theological rulership.¹

KEYWORDS

Ernst Kantorowicz, Historiography, Medieval History, Periodization in history, Political theology.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Ernst Kantorowicz, Historiographia, Historia mediaevalia, Periodizatio historica, Theologia politica.

*I also shall found a city some day,
as a memento of an atheist and
genuine enemy of the Church,
a person very closely related to me,
the great Hohenstaufen,
the Emperor Frederick II²*

In the life of a historian only a few primary materials can be published. He or she lives for a long period of time in contact with manuscripts, images and secondary literature books. This is also the case of Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz (1895-1963) whose archive at the Leo Baeck Institute Archives in New York City is 5.5 linear feet of originals plus 3.25 more of his lectures' photocopies. Historiography —has been written— is "A History of Historical Writing".³ But is historiography both the history of the published manuscripts and also the record of unpublished materials? This question concerns also the structure of these forthcoming pages.

Very possibly Kantorowicz's manuscripts are a closer historiographical version than his printed books. In this way historiography may work as a convex mirror of history (because it amplifies and does wide it), as well as the history of manuscripts (or "historio-manuscript") may work as a concave mirror because it concentrates and focuses on historical facts. Maybe history itself is as the reality's flat mirror image and historiography is the art of historical writing but also of how history was written. On the front side of a metaphorical tapestry, with its battles, kings and gods, we can see history in books whereas on the back-side we discover the knots, shadows and inconsistencies of the real manuscripts that help us to understand the whole notion of history.

At the beginning of this article (1-4) I will explain the story of a certain misunderstanding on the Kantorowicz's (EKA's)⁴ word "Quinity" in his correspondence with the scholars in charge of the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* in 1946. This will help us to understand the originality of this German historian in the use of his own coined iconographical terminology as well as his unconventional visual notion of the Christian Trinity. Thanks to this it is possible to continue with his publishing plans in Berkeley (5: 1-9) in a long commentary of five of his manuscripts with slightly different versions of the index of his unpublished book "Phases of Medieval Rulership".

This text will ultimately show in its Conclusions (6) to what extent his acclaimed works *Frederick II: 1194-1250* (1931), *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (1946), and *The King's two bodies. A Study in Medieval Political*

1. Used abbreviations: BL, British Library; BnF, Bibliothèque nationale de France; BS, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek; GC, General Correspondences; LBIA, Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York; WIA, Warburg Institute Archive.

2. Nietzsche, Friedrich. "Beyond Good and Evil", *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Oscar Levy. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964: XII, 11.

3. Barnes, Harry E. *A history of historical writing*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937.

4. "EKA" is the formal nickname for Ernst H. Kantorowicz in professional and academic letters, etc.



Theology (1957)⁵ owe so much to a more invisible legacy that must be explored as an explanation beyond his only “printed” official historiographical texts.

1. Introduction: the ‘Kantorowicz disaster’

On 24th of February 1946 the German historian Ernst Kantorowicz was living in 193, The Uplands, Berkeley 5, California, three miles away of the University of California main campus. He had recently moved from a closer location to the campus, 2424, Ridge Road. We know all these prosaic details from a letter addressed to Professor Fritz Saxl who was based in London and working in charge of the direction of The Warburg Institute Library. “My dear Saxl, Together with this letter, I am going to mail —airmail— the manuscript of my contribution: ‘The Quinity of Winchester and the Anonymous of York’”.⁶ This was the first of a long series of reciprocal correspondence on the so called in a letter of Frances Yates to Gertrude Bing “the Kantorowicz disaster”.⁷

For introductory purposes it is useful to know about this piece of academic conflict between Ernst Kantorowicz and the reviewers of the issue of the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* in the year 1946. For his article’s title, the use of the word “Quinity” instead of an eventual “Five persons of the Trinity”, was going to show not only a linguistic disagreement but rather a real theological discussion underneath (Illustration 1).

Of course that Kantorowicz’s manuscript reached successfully the editors of the *Journal* (Illustration 2)⁸ and that it was welcome as a good piece of academic research (Illustration 3).⁹ But it had to be Professor Tom Boase the first to be controversial with the word “Quinity” (Illustration 4):

Tom Boase schrieb mir, dass der Titel ‘Quinity’ mit seiner ‘malicious finesse’ anstössig sei.¹⁰ Ich schlage jedoch vor, da ich von der Quinität nicht ablasse, mir den Aufsatz zurückzuschicken. [...] Ich fürchte jedoch, dass meine anderen Studien nicht weniger der malicious finesse werden aufzuweisen haben; sie haben alle irgendwelches kirchengift.¹¹

5. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.

6. WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl (24 February 1946).

7. WIA. GC. Frances Yates to Gertrude Bing (13 August 1946).

8. WIA. GC. On behalf of Fritz Saxl to Ernst Kantorowicz (13 March 1946).

9. WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Rudolf Wittkower (20 June 1946).

10. “Tom Boase wrote to me that the title ‘Quinity’ with his ‘malicious finesse’ is astonishing”. WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl (31 July 1946).

11. “However, as I will not rectify the expression the Quinity, I suggest you send back to me the essay. [...] I fear, however, that my other studies will show no less malicious finesse; they all have some kind of church poison”. WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl (31 July 1946).



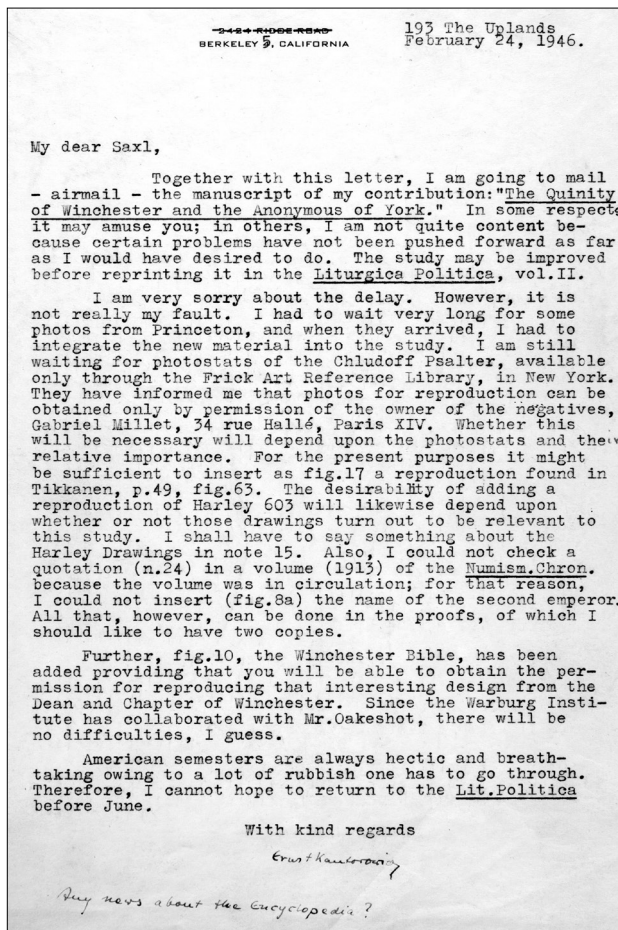


ILLUSTRATION 1. WIA. GC, LETTER OF ERNST KANTOROWICZ TO FRITZ SAXL (24 FEBRUARY 1946), ONE-SIDE TYPEWRITTEN WITH BLUE INK HANDWRITTEN ORIGINAL SIGNATURE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

Not everybody among the reviewers would agree with Boase. Fritz Saxl on 9th August writes Kantorowicz from his holidays in Scotland (Illustration 5): "Boase has just given me a ring and told me that you would like to have your manuscript back. I am very sorry that you have come to this decision".¹²

Not much later, Frances Yates wrote to Gertrude Bing with a piece of diagnosis on the disaster (Illustration 6):

12. WIA. GC. Fritz Saxl to Ernst Kantorowicz (9 August 1946).

13th March, 1946.

Dear Professor Kantorowicz,

This is just to acknowledge the receipt of the manuscript of your article, The Quinity of Winchester and the Anonymous of York, which has reached us safely. Dr. Saxl will be writing to you shortly.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Ernst Kantorowicz,
193 The Uplands,
Berkeley 5, California.

ILLUSTRATION 2. WIA. GC, LETTER. OFFICE TYPEWRITTEN ON BEHALF OF FRITZ SAXL TO ERNST KANTOROWICZ 1A5 WITH NO SIGNATURE (13 MARCH 1946), ONE-SIDE WITH NO SIGNATURE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

As far as I can make out from K's angry letter to Dr. Saxl (enclosed), Prof. Boase must have turned it into a theological issue. In his annoyance K. demanded the article back (in a letter to Boase as well¹³ as in the one to Dr. Saxl) and Rudi¹⁴ has sent it back. I feel that an effort should be made to try and get this article back at all costs, and that only Dr. Saxl can attempt this. We need it desperately for the number. I am very sorry that Dr. Saxl should have to work on his holyday trying to retrieve our mistakes. Yours ever. Frances.¹⁵

13. WIA. GC. Fritz Saxl to Ernst Kantorowicz (9 August 1946).

14. Professor Rudolf Wittkower (1901-1971), one of the reviewers and a personal friend of Kantorowicz.

15. WIA. GC. Frances Yates to Gertrude Bing (13 August 1946).



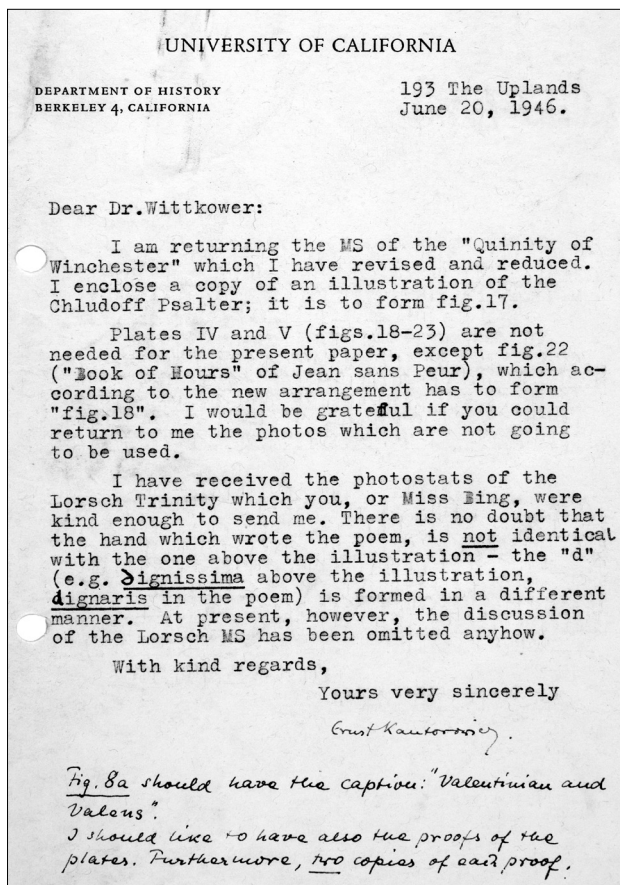


ILLUSTRATION 3. WIA. GC, LETTER OF ERNST KANTOROWICZ TO RUDOLF WITTKOWER (20 JUNE 1946), ONE-SIDE TYPEWRITTEN WITH BLUE INK HANDWRITTEN ORIGINAL SIGNATURE AND ADDITIONS BELOW CONCERNING THE MS. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

One day later and very interestingly Yates herself wrote an extension of her letter in a way of "second thoughts" in which she changed his mind on the unavoidable need for being returned Kantorowicz's "Quinity" (Illustration 7):

After all no English reader has been able to stand "Quinity". I think it would be as objectionable to tasteful atheists as to Anglicans. K. has shown himself to be (a) inaccurate (b) tasteless. Perhaps we are well rid of this article after all. In my anguish for this number yesterday I perhaps underrated other considerations. But it is for Dr. Saxl to decide what to do. Yours. F.¹⁶

16. WIA. GC. Frances Yates to Gertrude Bing (14 August 1946).

ILLUSTRATION 4. WIA. GC, LETTER OF ERNST KANTOROWICZ TO FRITZ SAXL (31 JULY 1946), ONE-SIDE TYPEWRITTEN WITH BLUE INK HANDWRITTEN ORIGINAL SIGNATURE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

31.7.46.

Mein lieber Herr Saxl,

Dank für Ihren Brief. Die Solmitz Angelegenheit habe ich durch Riezler und Bergsträsser nach Chicago weitergeleitet und erhielt schon vor einiger Zeit die Nachricht, dass er eine schwache Aussicht habe, im Herbst etwas zu bekommen, falls er nichts anderes gefunden haben sollte.

Tom Boase schrieb mir, dass der Titel "Quinity" mit seiner "malicious finesse" anstössig sei. Ich habe ihm ausführlich darüber geschrieben; er mag Ihnen meinen Brief zeigen. Irre ich mich, oder tritt man der Kirche gegenüber derzeit in England so leise? Ich hatte das Gefühl schon auf Grund Ihres ersten Briefes über diesen Aufsatz. Das Phänomen als solches würde mich interessieren. Ich schlage jedoch vor, da ich von der Quinität nicht ablasse, mir den Aufsatz zurückzuschicken. Ich veröffentliche ihn ohnedies ungern ohne den zweiten Teil und es dürfte allseits die beste Lösung sein. Es tut mir leid, dass Ihrerseits schon Arbeit in diesen Aufsatz investiert worden ist; aber ich schrieb Ihnen längst, dass ich hinsichtlich der "Multiplen" keine Konzessionen machen würde. Also lassen wir die ganze Sache fallen, und Sie schicken mir die Arbeit und die Photos zurück. Ich fürchte jedoch, dass meine anderen Studien nicht weniger der "malicious finesse" werden aufzuweisen haben; sie haben alle irgendwelches Kirchengift! Doch in der Beziehung bin ich halt belastet, seit den Tagen Friedrichs II.

Mit herzlichsten Grüßen
Ihr
Ernst Kantorowicz

ILLUSTRATION 5. WIA. GC, LETTER OF FRITZ SAXL TO ERNST KANTOROWICZ (9 AUGUST 1946), OFFICE TYPEWRITTEN ON BEHALF OF FRITZ SAXL TO ERNST KANTOROWICZ IN ONE-SIDE WITH NO SIGNATURE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

9th August, 1946.

Dear Professor Kantorowicz,

Boase has just given me a ring and told me that you would like to have your manuscript back. I am very sorry that you have come to this decision.

I shall return the text and the photographs, including the new ones which we have taken, as soon as the manuscript is back from the printer.

Yours sincerely,

Professor E. Kantorowicz,
193 The Uplands,
Berkeley 5, California.



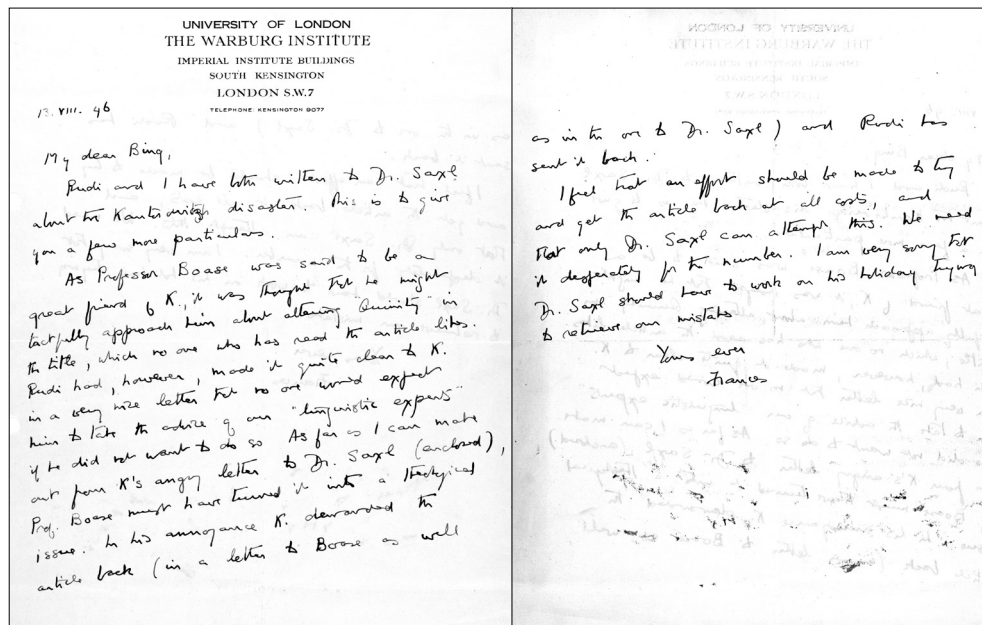


ILLUSTRATION 6. WIA. GC, FRANCES YATES TO GERTRUDE BING (13 AUGUST 1946), IN ONE DOUBLE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN LETTER IN BLACK INK. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

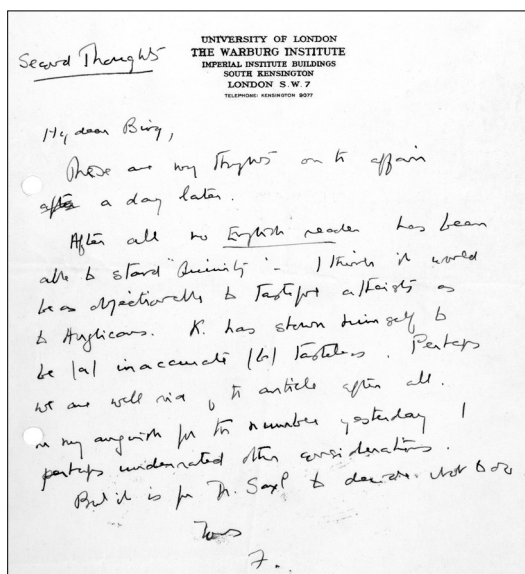


ILLUSTRATION 7. WIA. GC, FRANCES YATES TO GERTRUDE BING (14 AUGUST 1946), IN ONE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN LETTER IN BLUE INK. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

The "The Quinity of Winchester" was ultimately published in the *Art Bulletin* of the year 1947.¹⁷ How can this interesting exchange between Kantorowicz and the editors of the Warburg Journal be useful to introduce a Trinitarian scheme for medieval history in the particular Ernst Kantorowicz historiographical position? Or in other words: does his very concept of the Trinity affect his own vision on the phases of medieval rulership in terms of a historical transposition of the two-fold nature of God? (both divine and human, as if they were "the two bodies of the king").¹⁸ In this chapter I will attempt to answer to these intricate questions and expect that in doing so, it will be possible to address others concerning the concept of political theology in a difficult 20th century that experienced the painful footprints of both democracy and dictatorship.

2. The five-persons Trinitarian scheme

Before the starting of the "Kantorowicz disaster", in a letter from Kantorowicz to Saxl, he explained how important for him was to develop an unconventional way of using different declinations of the word "trinity", like "binity" or "quinity", as in the scientific lexicon it was said *octahedron*, *dodecahedron*, and so on, although he knew that only those were really present in nature, and not other *polyhedra*. Kantorowicz likewise realised that those derivations of "trinity" were not present in the Latin, English or German dictionaries though nonetheless for him *Eine Gruppe von zwei Figuren* was not a "binity".¹⁹ In this same letter of the 9th of August 1946, Kantorowicz explains Saxl (Illustration 8):

*Ich sehe aber keinen Grund, warum die anderen Zahlen nicht herhalten sollten, genau wie ich im Bedarfsfall von einem Enneaeder sprechen würde, obwohl die Natur nur in Octaedern und Dodekaedern etc. arbeitet.*²⁰

For him it was not exactly equivalent the expression "the group of five persons" than the only word "Quinity", because he thought on a one-essential and plural Trinity in the iconographic terms of "five divine personalities" symbolising a highest richness (in more than only three facets) in an equally Trinitarian God though in the same Oneness of the divine substance.

17. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Quinity of Winchester and the Anonymous of York". *Art Bulletin*, 29 (1947): 85.

18. In an obvious allusion to Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies*...

19. "a group of two figures". WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl (18 May 1946b).

20. "I do not see any reason not to use the other ciphers, as in case of necessity we would speak of no-dimensional polyhedra: Heptahedron (seven faces), Undecahedron (eleven) or Icosahedron (twenty) that not necessarily exist in nature". WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl (18 May 1946b).



<p>193 The Uplands BERKELEY 5, CALIFORNIA 18.5.46.</p> <p>Lieber Saxl,</p> <p>Ihren Brief betr. Solmitz habe ich durch einen Bekannten von Mills College gleich an Lynn White weitergegeben, da ich zufälliger Weise hörte, dass im German Dept. dort irgendeine Veränderung vorgenommen wird. Es wäre vielleicht gut, wenn Sie selbst an White über Solmitz schreiben, den ich leider garnicht kenne, und wenn Solmitz sein <u>curriculum</u> etc. einschickte, an mich oder an Lynn White direkt. Das Gehalt, das Solmitz erwarten würde, wäre sehr gering, sagen wir 2500, da Mills kein Geld hat. Er hätte aber den Vorteil des relativ billigen "Klimas"; er hätte die doch recht gut Bibliothek von Berkeley zur Verfügung; und Neumeyer und Maenchen, die beiden Kunsthistoriker, würden sich seiner annehmen. Instructor für Deutsch ist dort Helene Mayer. Wenn sich in Mills die Sache nicht positiv entwickeln sollte, womit zu rechnen ist, so sehe ich sehr trübe. Sie <u>müssen</u> Solmitz veranlassen, seinen Ph.D. schleunigst zu machen. Es ist sonst kaum möglich, eine Anstellung für ihn zu finden; und auch dann ist es noch schwer genug. Ladner, der eine Ummenge publiziert hat (darunter die Vatikan-offizielle Papst-Ikonographie), ist in einer ähnlichen Lage; doch hat er für ein Jahr eine Stelle an der Notre Dame University bekommen. Unter uns gesagt, es macht sich auch eine "Fremdenfeindlichkeit" fühlbar. Ich weiss z.B., dass hier die Besetzung des archäologischen und kunstgeschichtlichen (neuerer) für Mittelalter ist Korn. Lehrstuhles Nicht-Amerikaner nicht in Frage kommen, wobei Naturalisation kaum eine Rolle spielt. Ich bin neugierig, wie Ihre Angelegenheiten mit der Academy sich entwickelt haben. Sie selbst scheinen sich nicht viel versprochen zu haben.</p>	<p>Ich erhielt vor ein paar Tagen das von Wormald durchgesehene MS zurück, das Sie mir angekündigt haben. Ich könnte vieles zur Verteidigung anführen, <u>ad cingulum Dei Patris</u>, z.B. die Trinität Abaelards:</p> <p>Pater...cum toga talari, stola e collo pendente et ad pectus decussata, atque ad cingulum adstricta... Filius cum simili toga, sed absque cingulo...</p> <p>(Mabillon, Annal.Benedictini, Lib.LXIV,c.XIV, p.85).</p> <p>Oder, hinsichtlich der <u>armillae</u>, Germanus, <u>Expositio liturg.Gallic.</u>, Fl.72, col.97, wonach auch ein Stückchen gestickten Arms als <u>armillae</u> gilt:</p> <p>Mammalia vero, id est manicas induere sacerdotibus mos est instar armillarum, quas regum vel sacerdotum brachia constringebantur.</p> <p>Ich bin jedoch aus anderen Gründen damit einverstanden, die zweite Hälfte vorläufig beiseite zu lassen, weil indessen ein Schüler von mir, der über den Anonymus v.York arbeitet, soviel Neues Material beigetragen hat, dass ich das ganze Problem doch hätte neu bearbeiten müssen, bevor die Studie in the "Liturgica Politica" eingereicht würde. Obwohl die "Quinität" ohne den zweiten Teil für mein Gefühl in der Luft hängen bleibt, bin ich einverstanden damit, diese gesondert herauszubringen. Doch sträubte ich mich, die Worte "Binit" und "Quinit" zu den Umschreibungen zu ersetzen. Natürlich weiss ich, dass beides keine Lexikon-Worte sind, weder Lateinisch, noch Englisch, noch Deutsch, während "Trinity" und "Quaternity" gebräuchlich sind. Ich sehe aber keinen Grund, warum die anderen Zahlen nicht herhalten sollten, genau wie ich im Bedarfsfall von einem Enneader sprechen würde, obwohl die Natur nur in Octaedern und Dodekaedern etc. arbeitet. Vor allem aber, mit Binity meine ich ja nicht "eine Gruppe von zwei Figuren", sondern ganz konkret und ausschliesslich die Vater-Sohn Gruppe als eine nicht "ausgewachsene" Trinität. Für die nächsten drei Wochen habe ich noch <u>sehr</u> viel zu tun, werde Ihnen dann aber Teil I zurückschicken. Sollte es für das kommende Heft zu spät sein, lassen Sie es mich bitte wissen. Es macht garnichts. Ich könnte den ganzen Aufsatz mit anderem</p>
<p>2424 RIDGE ROAD BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA</p> <p>Material vereinigt als Trinitäts-Studien herausbringen, um dadurch die "Synthronos"-Studie etwas zu entlasten. Es ist seltsam, wie wenig behandelt die Darstellung anthropomorpher Trinitäten vor 1050 zu sein scheint, und dass in dem Zusammenhang die phantastisch schöne Trinität des Harley 603 noch nie bearbeitet worden ist, soviel ich weiss; auch nicht die koptischen Trinitäten. Infolge dessen macht es nichts, wenn es für die Quinität von Winchester für diesmal zu spät ist.</p> <p>Es ist sehr schade, dass Sie nicht nach Californien gekommen sind. Man ist hier sehr isoliert und hat so selten Gelegenheit, auch nur Fach zu simpeln, garnicht davon zu reden, wievielerlei Sie und ich sonst zu besprechen hätten. Es sind acht Jahre, seit ich Sie zuletzt in London sah. Und meine Chancen, in absehbarer Zeit nach London zu kommen, sind gering. Kosten und Urlaubsmöglichkeit stehen den in gleicher Weise entgegen.</p> <p>Mit herzlichen Grüssen und guten Wünschen, Ihr Ernst Kantorowicz</p>	<p>ILLUSTRATION 8. WIA. GC, ERNST KANTOROWICZ TO FRITZ SAXL (18 MAY 1946), ABC, ONE DOUBLE-SIDE TYPEWRITTEN LETTER PLUS ONE-SIDE WITH HANDWRITTEN ORIGINAL SIGNATURE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.</p>



ILLUSTRATION 9. *OFFICIA TRINITATIS* FROM THE BRITISH LIBRARY, SECOND QUARTER 11TH-CENTURY. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, COTTON TITUS D XXVII f. 75v.

The Winchester Trinitarian scene analysed by Kantorowicz in his *Art Bulletin* text belongs to one of the *Officia Trinitatis* of the British Library²¹ in which instead of showing an image of the Holy Trinity, as might well be expected, the artist has produced an astounding medley of divine figures. The craftsman working in the second quarter 11th-century Winchester manuscript is identifiable in a small-scale collection of personal devotions made for Aelfwine, Dean of the New Minster, immediately before 1032, and contains the name of the scribe Aelsinus, who seems to have been responsible for the New Minster *Liber vitae* (BL. Stowe, MS. 944), which was made c. 1031.²²

In this linear drawing, prominence has been given to two almost identical male figures, which occupy the right half and the centre of the little image. The head of each is surrounded by a cruciform-halo. They are evidently God the Father and God the Son. The Son is seated at the right hand of the Father, a posture which, of

21. BL. Cotton, MS Titus D. XXVII, f. 75v.

22. Hourihane, Colum P., ed. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012: II, 92.



course, is authorized by the first verse of Psalm 109 (110) ("The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool"). The Son occupies the centre of the image. The Virgin Mary is seen at his right hand. The drawing shows Mary holding in her right arm the Infant Jesus, with a little cruciform-halo and a book in his left hand. Mary is without a halo. She wears a crown which almost serves as a nest for the dove seated on her head. The dove, the Holy Ghost, also has the cruciform-halo, a symbol which thus, very oddly, appears four times in the drawing (Illustration 9).

The group of five persons is framed by a studded circular aureole. The feet of Christ rest on a shackled and wriggling figure, Lucifer. In the depth below, the fanged jaws of Hell are below the circle of the celestial sphere; and so are the two personages who are squeezed, right and left, into the spandrels of the underworld. They are Judas and Arius, according to the inscriptions. What the artist shows is not the Two Persons of Psalm 109, so to speak, the "Binity", which is often depicted, nor even the Trinity, which in later times, though without proper reason, frequently illustrates that Psalm. It is a Quaternity of God the Father, the Son, Holy Mary, and the Holy Ghost; or, if we add the Infant on the lap of the Virgin, we face the seemingly unique representation of "what logically must be called a 'Quinity'".²³

Following Kantorowicz, the Son is doubtless the Father's equal. It is not only the physical features —the double-curve of the lips, the strangely drawn brows vaulting over the half-closed lids of slightly slanted eyes, the long straight nose— which betray the co-equality. It is, above all, the Child's spirit which has been awakened to equal that of the Father. The mute oneness of Father and Son beyond word or thought solves, as it were, the mysteries of incarnation and deification. Both the Son that lifts and lends his face to the Father seem to be melting away in that timeless moment of surrender, one spirit, one flesh, each meeting his own self in the other, each God and man at the same time. Here there is no split. It is the true Oneness of the Two Natures. And it is all human or, which is the same, all divine. And it is both at once.²⁴

In August 1946, Frances Yates wrote Saxl again (Illustration 10):

I met Wormald in the Museum and he seemed almost relieved to hear of what had happened as apparently he had never quite liked the article. His view is that "Quinity" etc. is so to speak scientifically wrong; he felt that K. was stronger on law than on theology and that his theological science (of which I am sure he was judging quite liberally and not from a Guelph and Ghibelline standpoint) was shaky.²⁵

Wormald definitely had read the Quinity and his opinion was clear: in a wide sense, he felt that Kantorowicz was "better in law than in theology".

23. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Quinity...": 73-74.

24. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Quinity...": 85.

25. WIA. GC. Frances Yates to Fritz Saxl (20 August 1946b).



But the problem of the five persons in one Trinity was not exclusively theological but also historiographical. "The Winchester Trinity, though probably unique and without a true parallel, reflects nevertheless a rather broad and general artistic or human problem". For Kantorowicz, in a letter to Saxl (Illustration 8):

*Es ist seltsam, wie wenig behandelt die Darstellung anthropomorpher Trinitäten vor 1050 zu sein scheint, und dass in dem Zusammenhang die phantastisch schöne Trinität des Harley 603 noch nie bearbeitet worden ist, soviel ich weiss; auch nicht die koptischen Trinitäten.*²⁶

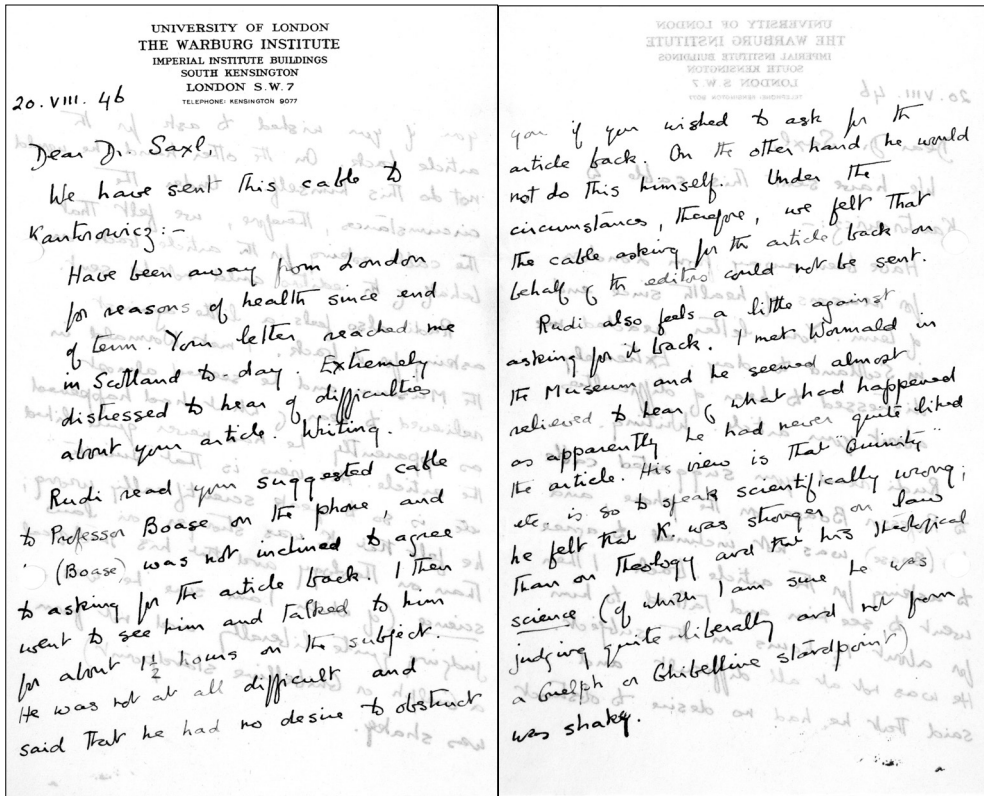


ILLUSTRATION 10. WIA. GC, FRANCES YATES TO FRITZ SAXL (20 AUGUST 1946), AB, ONE DOUBLE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN LETTER IN BLACK INK. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

26. "it is astonishing to check the little interest that art historians have given to the anthropomorphic representations of the Trinity previous to the year 1050 in the similar context of the wonderful Trinity of the Harvey 603 and the Coptic Trinities". WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl (18 May 1946b).



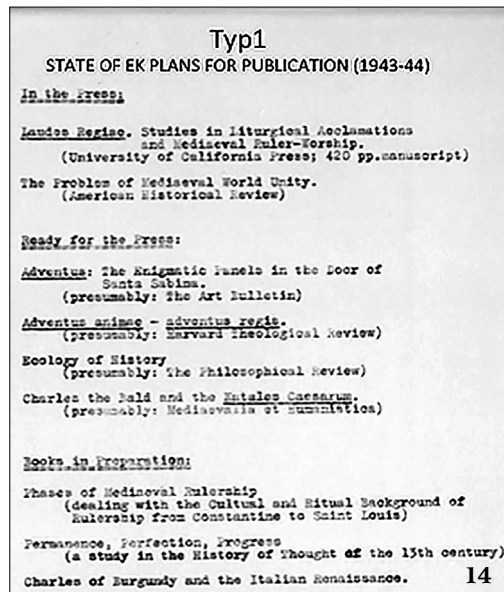
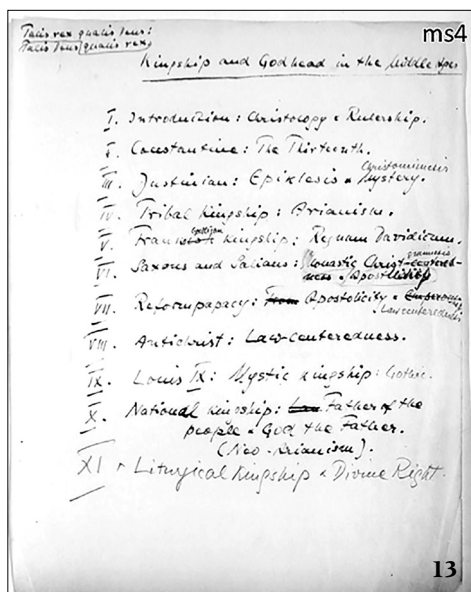
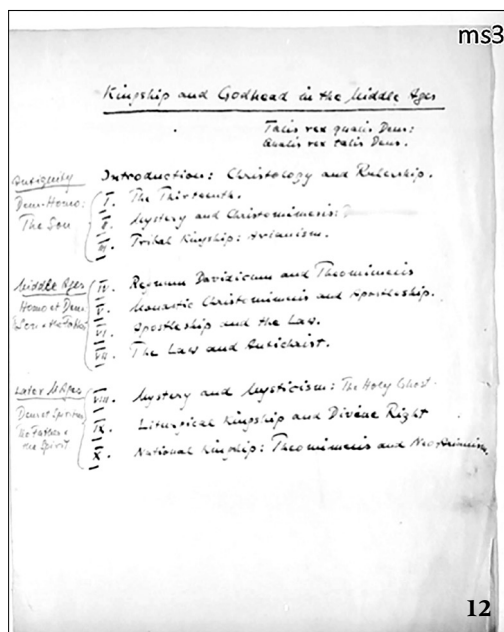
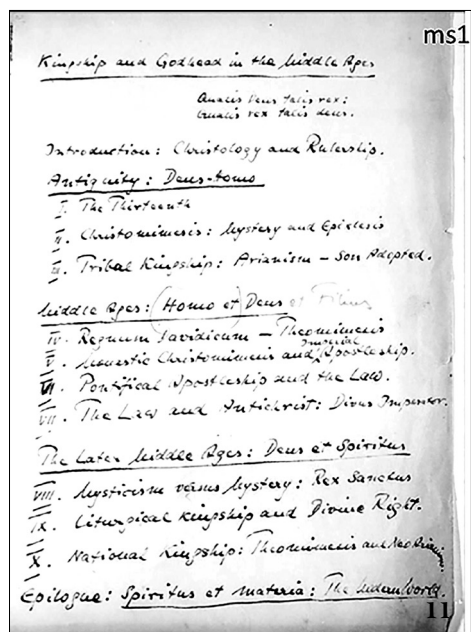


ILLUSTRATION 11. LBA. ERNST KANTOROWICZ COLLECTION 1908-1982. LECTURE THEMES, AR 7216 1/9, REEL 1 (EKA) n. 0201. ONE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN NOTE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

ILLUSTRATION 12. EKA, No. 0203. ONE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN NOTE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

ILLUSTRATION 13. EKA, No. 0205. ONE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN NOTE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

ILLUSTRATION 14. EKA, No. 0209. ONE-SIDE TYPEWRITTEN NOTE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.



The real problem Kantorowicz's analysis of the Trinitarian iconography was his proposal of the phases of rulership in the Middle Ages. In other words, in 1943 he aimed to write a new book —never published— in which *Kingship and Godhead in the Middle Ages* were going to determine the mutual relationships between the spiritual and the material bodies of the king or, as he uses in different *marginalia* to his own notes, the reciprocal dominion between the earthly and the heavenly powers, well reflected in the often used by him expression: *Talis rex qualis Deus/Qualis rex talis Deus* (ms. 1, 3 and 4 in Illustrations 11, 12 and 13).

Within the theological meaning of each one of the Persons, whether it dominates the Father, the Son or the Holy Spirit, the results in terms of the phases of medieval rulership will change:

The difficulty of representing at once the two natures and yet avoiding their, so to speak, "frontal" meeting in the same image has not really been mastered by the artist; it has led him to his quasi-"Nestorianism". This difficulty, however, is restricted to medieval and, for that matter, to Christian art in general, as little as the underlying problem itself. It all reappears with any representation of the two natures of any deified human being; and it all turns up unfailingly as soon as the divine, instead of being recognized as an immanent component of the human, begins to lead a life of its own —and vice versa. In this respect there has been much more of "Nestorianism" in history than might be assumed.

The Winchester master has by far outstripped his model. The topic of the two natures, which may have appeared to him as indispensable even in the picture of a Trinity, has been emphasized so forcefully that, in fact, the image might be taken to display an antithesis rather than a synthesis of the God-Christ and His human manifestation. It might be held that the artist, involuntarily and certainly *optima fide*, has depicted an almost "Nestorian" christology by splitting the two natures of Christ; his work, to be sure, is not in agreement with the "unsevered and unseparated" of Chalcedon or with the corresponding phrases of the Athanasian Creed. Also it might be held that his efforts to meet the requirements of St. Jerome's gloss have led him to introduce a Virgin Mary that appears as a *Christotokos*, mother of Christ, rather than a *theotokos*, Mother of God. The artist certainly did not wish to indicate a polarity of the two natures; but his attempt to illustrate the *Officium Trinitatis* on the basis of Psalm 109 has resulted in a garbled rendering of the triune Deity. He has produced a weird "Quinity", which —it may be mentioned by the way— is in no respect a forerunner of the *marioratrous* Quaternities of the later Middle Ages. The "Quinity of Winchester", after all, is meant to be a Trinity, in fact so orthodox and anti-Arian a Trinity that it is on the verge of overbalancing the dogma and turning it to the contrary.²⁷

The reviewers of the Quinity —Tom Boase, Rudolf Wittkower, Frances Yates, Gertrude Bing, Patrick Wormald and even Fritz Saxl— did not understand the historiographical background of the Quinity in the terms aimed by Kantorowicz himself, for whom the phases of medieval rulership were necessarily marked by the "variable Christology on the topic the two natures as the underlying problem" in the real understanding of how the medieval period worked in its most historical terms.

27. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Quinity...": 81.



In the next epigraph we will see the ideological risks underlying Kantorowicz's intentions in terms of a political theology close to the seizure of power by Adolf Hitler and only after this we will clarify the Trinitarian scheme for medieval history with the help of some additional primary sources.²⁸

3. The political Christology of Kantorowicz

As historian, Kantorowicz was unwillingly under a kind of Frederick Nietzsche's dangerous magnetism²⁹ (though sometimes beneficiary) if we carefully realise the Nietzschean-Joachinite approach contained in his "Book in preparation" of 1943 (Illustration 14). We cannot completely forget his bitter complaint with occasion of the "Kantorowicz disaster" of 1946 in which he wrote to Saxl concerning his feeling of having intellectually been "persecuted" in the early days of his *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (see illustration 4):

*Ich schlage jedoch vor, da ich von der Quintität nicht ablasse, mir den Aufsatz zurückzuschicken. [...] Ich fürchte jedoch, dass meine anderen Studien nicht weniger der malicious finesse werden aufzuweisen haben; sie haben alle irgendwelches kirchengift! Doch in der Beziehung bin ich halt belastet, seit den Tagen Friedrichs II.*³⁰

Of course the shadow of Nietzsche has always been extremely long for historiography;³¹ it was the man who wrote in 1888 that he "also shall found a city some day, as a memento of an atheist and genuine enemy of the Church, a person very closely related to me, the great Hohenstaufen, the Emperor Frederick II":³²

Throughout the course of his life, Nietzsche was concerned with the nature of history. This can be witnessed from *The Birth of Tragedy*, which can readily be viewed as an essay on a historiographical problem, to the *Nachlass*, where he asserted: "In my own way, I am attempting a justification of history". Similar to

28. Held in the Leo Baeck Institute Archives in New York City.

29. On this expression: "[...] Nietzsche became a compelling force after 1890 [...]. [His] newly achieved magnetism [...]" Aschheim, Steven E. *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890-1990*. Oakland: University of California Press, 1992: II, 11.

30. "However, since I am not draining the Quinity, I suggest sending the essay back to me. [...] I am afraid that my other studies have to have no less of 'malicious finesse'; they all have some kind of poison for the Church! But this is familiar enough to me since the times of Frederick II". WIA. GC. Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl (31 July 1946).

31. "The deconstruction of the genetic pattern in *The Birth of Tragedy* is not without consequences, not only within the special field of Nietzsche interpretation, but in that of historiography and semiology as well". De Man, Paul. "Genesis and Genealogy in Nietzsche's, *The Birth of Tragedy*". *Diacritics*, 2/4 (1972): 53.

32. Nietzsche, Friedrich. "Beyond Good and Evil"....: XII, 11.



both Augustine and Hegel, Nietzsche's view was essentially concerned with the problem of theodicy, with offering a cure for the "disease of history".³³

This insight can only be understood in light of the five Kantorowicz's manuscripts from late 1943 that constitute drafts of the future book that was never going to be published: "Phases of Medieval Rulership" (in addition to Illustrations 11, 12 and 13, see now Illustrations 15 and 16).³⁴ We have transcribed these five separate notes and visually structured in parallel in the "comparative scheme" that we have to analyse in deep (Illustrations 17-18). This little corpus of manuscripts (Illustrations 11-13 and 15-16) will show the reader to what extent Kantorowicz envisaged the different moments of medieval history between the late Antiquity and the later Middle Ages in the very terms of Who of the three Trinitarian persons would have symbolically dominated the political theology panorama, as well as how this theopolitical structure gave the different character (or charisma) to successive rulers like Constantine, Justinian, Theodoric the Great, Charlemagne, Otto III, Henry III and Gregory VII, Frederick II and Louis IX.

Not all of these manuscripts show things in exactly the same terms. They must have been written during a long period of reflection for the author —probably years. They are not individually dated though we realise they were written at the beginning of the forties, previous to "The Quinity of Winchester" of the *Art Bulletin* (1947) and much earlier than *The King's Two Bodies* (1957). All of them are clearly Kantorowicz own's calligraphy on folio format and constitute personal notes in some way linked to a more general plan of future publications in typewritten texts (Illustrations 14 and 19). Within this more synthetic plan of typ1 and typ2 (late 1943-early 1944),³⁵ there are two different sections: "In the Press" and "Books in preparation". In this later epigraph, both items show the same title for this work: "Phases of Mediaeval Rulership. Dealing with the Cultural and Ritual Background of Rulership from Constantine to Saint Louis". The main title in typ. 1-2 is the same in ms. 2 and 5 whereas differs in

33. As Nietzsche wrote, "I leave those doubting ones to time, which brings all things to light; and turn at last to that great company of hope, to tell them the way and the course of their salvation, their rescue from the disease of history, and their own history as well, in a parable whereby they may again become healthy enough to study history anew". Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Use and Abuse of History*. New York: Library of Liberal Arts-Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1957: 71; also in Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Use and Abuse...: 70*; Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Will to Power*. New York: Vintage Books, 1967: 527; Ausmus, Harry J. "Nietzsche and Eschatology". *The Journal of Religion*, 58/4 (1978): 347, 348, note 5.

34. We will only capitalise each word of the Kantorowicz's expression "Phases of Medieval Rulership" when used as a literal quotation of this title in his ms. 2 and 5. The five used manuscripts are LBIA. Ernst Kantorowicz Collection 1908-1982. Lecture Themes, AR 7216 1/9, Reel 1, No. 0201, 0202, 0203, 0204 and 0215. Forthcoming quoted as ms. 1-5.

35. On this, see the manuscript annotation to typ2 by someone alien to Kantorowicz: "The almost identical 'In the press' list which is effused (blue sheets, 2pp) to a list of Publications has as the last publication the EHK article of 1943. Neither of the 2 1944 articles being listed theme (but medieval writings of 1944 are marked [illegible word] in the Press), we must assume. This list was drawn up late '43 early '44. May (?) better. The EK volume number is given but not the pages, so that he probably had had galleys by them (same with JWI article); We are, therefore, almost certainly in late 1943".



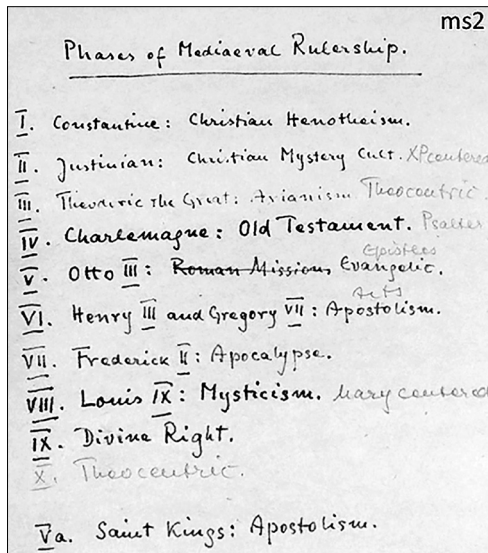


ILLUSTRATION 15. EKA, No. 0202. ONE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN NOTE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

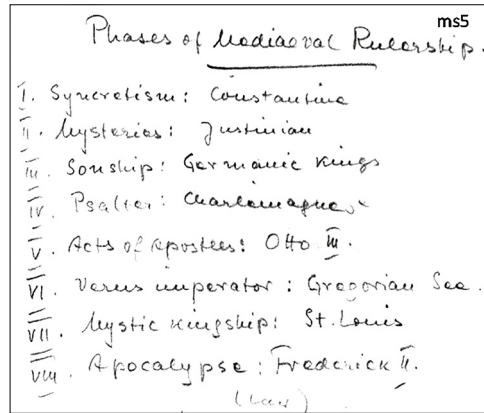


ILLUSTRATION 16. EKA, No. 0215. ONE-SIDE HANDWRITTEN NOTE. WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

ms. 1, 3 and 4 ("Kingship and Godhead in the Middle Ages") although the chapters' distribution will show similar editorial criteria (Illustrations 14 and 19).

It is quite clear that depending on how the different rulers embodied metaphorically the different Persons of the Trinity and her vital operations, Kantorowicz attributes in the index of this preparatory book a different role of every one of them in medieval history, that basically has a Trinitarian scheme. Only the ms. 1, 2 and 3 (Illustrations 17-18 at every time it is needed to check information on ms. 1-5) show an *Introduction* to his book in which Kantorowicz plans to write on the relationship between *Christology and rulership*. As it was clear in his analysis of "The Quinity of Winchester", the key point is not only a political theology but moreover a Christology of history (or "perhaps we should say: political Christology")³⁶ so that depending on the "equidistance" between the monarch and the two natures of Christ, the phase of rulership will be interpreted in a different theopolitical hermeneutic key.³⁷

Following these principles, it makes sense that ms. 1 and 3 divide the entire book in three sections: Antiquity (*Deus-Homo*. The Son), Middle Ages (*Homo et Deus*. The Son

36. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "'Deus Per Naturam, Deus Per Gratiam': A Note on Mediaeval Political Theology". *The Harvard Theological Review*, 45/4 (1952): 253.

37. This is immediately concerning, in the later work of Kantorowicz, the fact of the royal anointing of *Exodus*, 22, 28 (*Diis non detrahes et principi populi tui non maledices*), and *Psalms*, 81, 6 (*Ego dixi: dii estis*): "Thus enters Christology into the picture only to be carried over, in an unusual fashion, to the royalist theory. For now the Christlike anointed on earth is, so to speak, bound to receive his two natures, too". Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "'Deus Per Naturam...': 255.

Late 1943	ms1	ms2	ms3	ms4	ms5
Archive Ref.	Lecture Themes, Leo Baeck Institute Archives, Ernst Kantorowicz Collection 1908-1982 (Abbreviation: EKA), AR 7216 1/9, Reel 1 nn. 0201	EKA AR 7216 1/9, Reel 1 nn. 0202	EKA AR 7216 1/9, Reel 1 nn. 0203	EKA AR 7216 1/9, Reel 1 nn. 0205	AR 7216 1/9, Reel 1 nn. 0215
Title	Kingship and Godhead in the Middle Ages. Qualis Deus talis rex. Qualis rex talis Deus	Phases of Medieval Rulership	Kingship and Godhead in the Middle Ages. Talis rex qualis Deus/Qualis rex talis Deus	Kingship and Godhead in the Middle Ages. Talis rex qualis Deus. Qualis rex talis Deus (corrected)	Phases of Mediaeval Rulership
Contents	I. The Thirteenth	I. Constantine: Christian Henotheism	I. The Thirteenth	I. Introduction: Christology & Rulership	I. Syncretism: Constantine
	II. Christomimesis: Mystery and Epiklesis	II. Justinian: Christian Mystery Cult: Xpocentered	II. Mystery and Christomimesis	II. Constantine: The Thirteenth	II. Mysteries: Justinian
	III. Tribal Kingship: Arianism-Son Adopted	III. Theodorik the Great: Arianism. Theocentric	III. Tribal Kingship: Arianism	III. Justinian: Epiklesis & Mystery, Christomimesis	III. Sonship: Germanic Kings
	IV. Regnum Davidicum-Theomimesis	IV. Charlemagne: Old Testament: Psalter	IV. Regnum Davidicum and Theomimesis	IV. Tribal Kingship: Arianism	IV. Psalter: Charlemagne
	V. Monastic Christomimesis and Imperial Apostleship	V. Otto III: Roman-Mission: Evangelic. Epistles. Va. Saint Kings: Apostolism	V. Monastic Christomimesis and Apostleship	V. Francis(?) Gallican Kingship: Regnum Davidicum	V. Acts of Apostles: Otto III
	VI. Pontifical Apostleship and the Law	VI. Henry III and Gregory VII: Apostolism. Acts	VI. Apostleship and the Law	VII. Reformapapacy: From Apostolichy. Emperorschips-Law-centeredness	VI. Verus imperator: Gregorian Sea
	VII. The Law and Antichrist: Divus Imperator	VII. Frederick II: Apocalypse	VII. The Law and Antichrist	VIII. Antichrist: Lawcenteredness	VII. Mystic Kingship: St. Louis
	VIII. Mysticism versus Mystery: Rex Sanctus	VIII. Louis IX: Mysticism. Mary Centered	VIII. Mystery and Mysticism: The Holy Ghost	IX. Louis IX: Mystic Kingship: Gothic	VIII. Apocalypse: Frederick II
	IX. Liturgical Kingship and Divine Right	IX. Divine Right	IX. Liturgical Kingship and Divine Right	X. National Kingship: Law Father of the People & God	(Lars)?
	X. National Kingship: Theomimesis and Neo-Arianism	X. Theocentric	X. National Kingship: Theomimesis and Neo-Arianism	XI. Liturgical Kingship & Divine Right	
	Epilogue: Spiritus et materia: The Modern World				

ILLUSTRATION 17-18. TABLE CONTAINING THE TRANSCRIPTIONS AND REFERENCES TO THE MANUSCRIPTS QUOTED, ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.



and the Father), and Later Middle Ages (*Deus et Spiritus*. The Father and the Spirit). On this *sectional* division of the book, ms. 2, 4 and 5 do not specify anything. However, how not to mention now the temptation of a historiographical Joachimism? Or, was Kantorowicz, in his Trinitarian scheme for medieval history, “un-originally” following the tripartite well-known scheme of de Fiore? Or perhaps we can ask: to what extent was Kantorowicz influenced by Frederick Nietzsche in his seductive philosophy of history? In order to answer these questions we will next devote some attention.

4. The two ‘Fredericks’: Nietzsche and Hohenstaufen

It has been said that

historians concerned with explanations or with the discovery of historical laws—the disciples of Karl Marx and Karl Lamprecht—were not popular in the universities (between 1919 and 1933). The German universities included hardly any historians of the type represented by Johan Huizinga in Holland, who were mainly inspired by sympathetic interests, who distrusted the glorification of human greatness, and who took pleasure in “contact with the blossoming, colourful details of the past”. Instead (leaving aside research workers who confined themselves to the mere accumulation of facts), the faculties of mediaeval³⁸ history were dominated by men who used the sources of the Middle Ages as a means of bringing out contrasts between ideal and dubious forms of society, between admirable and obnoxious personalities. This tendency owed much to the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche, who had argued that history in its “monumental” or “critical” function had a duty to serve “life”.³⁹

As it happened, the Constitution of the Weimar Republic was implicitly based on the immutable concept of the rights of man. The government of the Weimar Republic and the politicians supporting it made treaties recognizing established frontiers and committed themselves to the maintenance of peace. Given these objectives, Weimar was bound not to satisfy those historians who subscribed to the ideas of growth, change, and “life”, and who did not shrink from the notion of struggle. Thus it came about that many historians who achieved renown in the 1920s simply ignored the Republic. Among them was Ernst Kantorowicz, who laid claim to special affinities with the “secret Germany” and “its emperors and heroes”.

He extolled Emperor Friedrich II as a ruler who time and again renewed his creative powers. Friedrich II—Kantorowicz wrote—“knew how to push down, again and again, to ever deeper layers of the elemental forces of the earth; how to descend to the people and, invigorated by such descent, to soar to yet greater

38. Concerning the difference in the use of “medieval” or “mediaeval”, in this text we respect the less modern “mediaeval” when it appears in the original title of literary or academic works.

39. Nitschke, August. “German Politics and Medieval History”. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 3/2 (1968): 76.



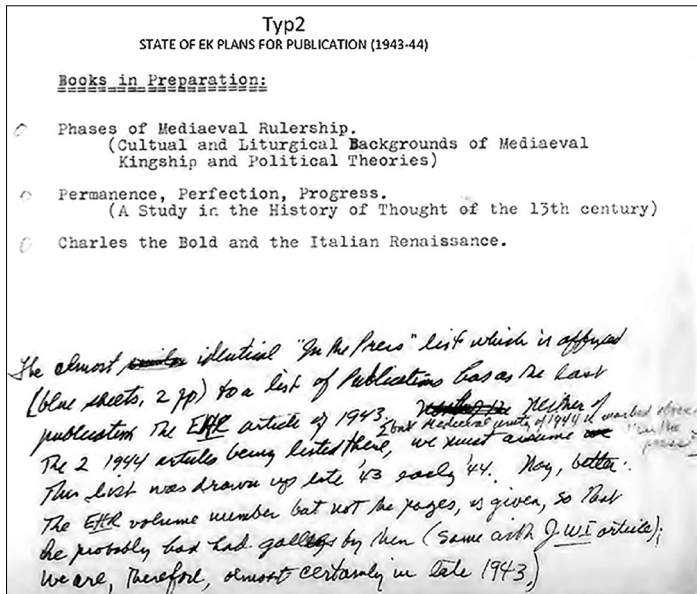


ILLUSTRATION 19. EKA, No. 0206 (DETAIL). ONE-SIDE TYPEWRITTEN NOTE WITH HANDWRITTEN ADDITIONS. 0206 (DETAIL). TRANSCRIPTION: "THE ALMOST IDENTICAL 'IN THE PRESS' LIST WHICH IS AFFUSED (BLUE SHEETS, 2PP) TO A LIST OF PUBLICATIONS HAS AS THE LAST PUBLICATION THE EHK ARTICLE OF 1943. NEITHER OF THE TWO 1944 ARTICLES BEING LISTED THEME, (BUT MEDIEVAL WRITINGS OF 1944 ARE MARKED (ILLEGIBLE WORD) IN THE PRESS), WE MUST ASSUME. THIS LIST WAS DRAWN UP LATE '43 EARLY '44. MAY (?) BETTER. THE EHR VOLUME NUMBER BUT NOT THE PAGES, IS GIVEN, SO THAT HE PROBABLY HAD HAD GALLEYS BY THEM (SAME WITH JWI ARTICLE); WE ARE, THEREFORE, ALMOST CERTAINLY IN LATE 1943". WITH PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

heights so as to partake of the ether's eternal fire". Though admiring clarity, he had nothing in common with the "rationalism of a later age", the rationalism of the Enlightenment which was to provide the basis of democracy. Cruelty being a quality inseparable from life, Kantorowicz tended to approve of this quality in his hero, the "first godless man" and "the first in himself divine man, holy without the sanctification of the church", for "God in his distant loftiness did not fit into the age" of Friedrich II.⁴⁰

Kantorowicz's doctoral dissertation on Frederick II⁴¹ was going to have in the German Weimar Republic contextual interpretations that were subject to the

40. Nitschke, August. "German Politics...": 77.

41. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*. Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1927. See also Lorimer, Emily O. *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250*. London: Constable & Co., 1931.



highly rapid laws of historical hermeneutics. His analytical approach to medieval political theology in *The King's Two Bodies* has been read as an implicit recantation of the myth-making tendency of the earlier work, where Kantorowicz had acclaimed Frederick as a new type of ruler, who would end "this time without emperors and restore the lost glory of the Reich".⁴²

Göring was an admirer of Kantorowicz's book and it is perfectly possible that his order to Ruge was motivated not just by his notorious lust for cultural booty, but also by a certain enthusiasm for this German ruler of the past—an enthusiasm that was shared by many officials of the Nazi party and the Wehrmacht. The popularity of Kaiser Frederick in these circles⁴³ has prompted one commentator to call it a "fascist classic"⁴⁴ and another to speculate as to whether Kantorowicz's glowing account of Frederick II's Sicilian tyranny provided Hitler and Himmler with a model of the "total" state.⁴⁵

The serious commitment to Frederick II concurred with the close friendship Kantorowicz developed with Stefan George in the early 1920s. As Maurice Bowra has written about those days in Kantorowicz's life, George "provided the attachment which Ernst needed, [...] built up his confidence, excited his imagination, and made him work".⁴⁶ There is no doubt, too, that the young scholar characterized the Staufan Emperor in terms congenial with the mature poet's vision of the heroic personality in history, for George was in this respect avowedly a follower of Nietzsche. Frederick II stands forth in Kantorowicz's work

42. Ruehl, Martin A. "In this Time without Emperors': The Politics of Ernst Kantorowicz's 'Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite' Reconsidered". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000): 190.

43. Ruehl, Martin A. "'Imperium transcendat hominem'. Reich and Rulership in Ernst Kantorowicz's *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*", *A poet's Reich: politics and culture in the George Circle*, Melissa S. Lane, Martin A. Ruehl, eds. Rochester: Camden House, 2011: 226-227.

44. Rowan, Steven. "Comment: Otto Brunner". *Paths of Continuity: Central European Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s*, Hartmut Lehmann, James V. H. Melton, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994: 296. See Ruehl, Martin A. "In This Time...": 188, note 6.

45. Oexle, Otto G. "Das Mittelalter als Waffe. Ernst H. Kantorowicz' *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, in den politischen Kontroversen der Weimarer Republik", *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus: Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996: 212. See also Seibt, Gustave. "Römisches Deutschland: Ein politisches Motiv bei Rudolf Borchardt und Ernst Kantorowicz". *Sinn und Form*, 1 (1994): 63-64.

46. Bowra, Cecil M. *Memories, 1898-1939*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1966: 289. Some of George's reminiscences of Kantorowicz are gathered in Helbing, Lothar; Bock, Claus Victor; Kluncker, Karlhans, eds. *Stefan George: Dokumente seiner Wirkung*. Amsterdam: Castrum Peregrini Presse, 1974: 146-148; but the fullest account of the George-Kantorowicz relationship is given in the essays of Salin and Malkiel in Landauer, Carl. "Ernst Kantorowicz and the Sacralization of the Past". *Central European History*, 27/1 (1994): 1-25. The two long biographical sketches of Kantorowicz written by Yakov Malkiel were inspired largely by his interest in George and the *Georgekreis* in Malkiel, Yakov. "Ernst H. Kantorowicz". *Romance Philology*, 18 (1964): 1-15; and Evans Jr., Arthur R., ed. *On Four Modern Humanists*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970: 146-219. Gay, Peter. *Weimar Culture*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1968, devotes some pages to Kantorowicz in a chapter on George entitled "The Secret Germany"; details on the origin and manifestations of the cryptic idea of *Das geheime Deutschland* are given by Salin, Edgar. *Um Stefan George Erinnerung und Zeugnis*. Munich: H. Küpper, 1954: 324, note 123. In handwritten it is added: "see also an unpublished lecture on the subject by Kantorowicz, in his archive in the Leo Baeck Institute New York".



not as a Teutonic hero, but as a Roman Emperor. The German world was made more civilized by the infusion of Mediterranean culture through Frederick II, who was born, raised and lived most of his life in Italy. Kantorowicz presented the character of Frederick II not in Wagnerian but in Dantesque terms. He always regarded Frederick as a true progenitor of the Renaissance.⁴⁷

The success with the general public of the book *Frederick II* derived from its romantic and nationalistic character. Younger scholars also felt it was a breath of fresh air in the heavily positivistic atmosphere of German historiography. But the intellectual biography of a great national leader—here the veritable Caesar of the high Middle Ages—had to provoke controversy. The absence of footnotes limited the work's scholarly value: those hospitable to the thesis could not readily verify its sources; those hostile to it could allege the defeat of the evidence by the author's *imagination créatrice*.

That Gallic quip came from the distinguished medievalist Albert Brackmann, who in May 1929 delivered an address before the Prussian Academy of Sciences, which was immediately printed in *Historisches Zeitschrift*, warning the scholarly world against the danger of this kind of history emanating from the "George-School".⁴⁸ Kantorowicz replied in the pages of the same journal, defending the "Mythical View" smartly as a thirteenth-century creation which he only sought to recapture, and for which a creative imagination was surely less to be feared than the *réalisme destructeur* of the devotees of "pure fact".⁴⁹

Kantorowicz's full reply to the criticism of having written according to an *idée fixe* was to spend two years composing a whole separate book of learned references to the biography, a volume of footnotes annotating every page of the text and adding ten learned excurses. This *Ėrganzungsband* (1931) may not have changed the minds of his ideological opponents, but it did provide his sympathizers with a full critical apparatus with which to assess his style of intellectual history. He resolved never again to publish a serious work without an *apparatus criticus*.⁵⁰

For the large majority of critics today, however, there are no affinities between the politics of Kaiser Frederick and Nazism. Kantorowicz's Nazi readers, they claim,

47. Abulafia, David. "Kantorowicz and Frederick II". *History*, 62 (1977): 193-210, provides a full exposition of the work and an appreciation of its enduring influence in the scholarly world fifty years after its publication; see 193-195 for the close relationship between some George poems and themes in Kantorowicz's book.

48. Brackman, Albert. "Kaiser Friedrich II in 'Mythischer Schau'". *Historisches Zeitschrift*, 140 (1929): 534-559, especially 548.

49. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "'Mythenschau': eine Erwiderung von Ernst Kantorowicz". *Historisches Zeitschrift*, 141 (1930): 457-471, especially 471. Brackmann, an editor of the Journal, got in the last word by a seven-page rebuttal directly following Kantorowicz's article, able now to document his *ad hominem* arguments about Kantorowicz with reference to Friedrich Wolter's new "official" biography of Stefan George. The entire Kantorowicz-Brackmann controversy was reprinted in Wolf, Gunther G., ed. *Stupor mundi: zur Geschichte Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966: 5-48, and is artfully summarized in Abulafia, David. "Kantorowicz ...": 201-203.

50. LBIA. Ernst Kantorowicz Collection 1908-1982, AR 7216 1/1, Reel 1, No. 0034-0035, Giesey, Ralph E. "Essay on Ernst Kantorowicz": 5-6. Available at <https://archive.org/stream/ernstkantorowicz00reel01#page/n29/mode/1up>.



“perverted” his “elitistic [sic] ideals”⁵¹ and his paean to the “heroic leader”;⁵² the nationalistic strain of his book was “far removed” from the Nazis’ racist jingoism and ultimately compatible with a “benevolent universalism”;⁵³ Kantorowicz was not a progenitor of fascism, but rather a modern humanist,⁵⁴ who emphasised the “enlightened” features of Frederick’s rule⁵⁵ and stood up, immediately after Hitler’s seizure of power, as a defender of the “Weimarian principles of toleration and safe-guarding human dignity”.⁵⁶ Kantorowicz’s reaction to the Nazi seizure of power was ambivalent —as ambivalent as his portrait of Frederick II as a *große deutsche Herrschergestalt* (“great German ruler of the past”). The two are, indeed, related. There are resonances between the notions of *Deutschtum* (“Germanness”) and *Herrschaft* (“rulership”, “sovereignty”) in Kaiser Frederick and in Nazi ideology. These resonances help to explain why Kantorowicz wavered for a brief but significant moment in the summer of 1933 in his rejection of a regime that had already begun to persecute him.⁵⁷

The two citizenships Kantorowicz lived was a common phenomenon of his generation: a Jewish German forced into exile by the Nazis. The scholarly merit of Kantorowicz’s biography of Frederick II stands apart from and above its nationalistic strain, but its idealization of the heroic leader was mocked by the advent of Nazism with its perversion of patriotic sentiment and the principles of rulership [Illustration 20]. In Kantorowicz’s later work, we find individuals writ small and emphasis given instead to the traits and ideals of rulership which have prevailed over the centuries for better or for worse. *The King’s Two Bodies* is a monument to the essential tension that exists between ruler and rulership [Illustration 21].⁵⁸

51. Fried, Johannes. “Ernst Kantorowicz and Postwar Historiography. German and European Perspectives”, *Ernst Kantorowicz*, Robert L. Benson, Johannes Fried, eds. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997: 200.

52. Giesey, Ralph. “Ernst H. Kantorowicz: Scholarly Triumphs and Academic Travails in Weimar Germany and the United States”. *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute*, 30 (1985): 191. See also Delle Donne, Roberto. “Nachwort”, *Kantorowicz: Geschichten eines Historikers*, Alain Boureau. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992: 167.

53. Abulafia, David. “Kantorowicz, Frederick II and England”, *Ernst Kantorowicz*, Robert L. Benson, Johannes Fried, eds. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997: 125, 132. See also Valensise, Marina. “Ernst Kantorowicz”. *Rivista storica italiana*, 101 (1989): 203; Landauer, Carl. “Ernst Kantorowicz...”: 7.

54. See Petrow, Michael. *Der Dichter als Führer? Zur Wirkung Stefan Georges im “Dritten Reich”*. Marburg: Tectum, 1995: 123-128, who identifies Kantorowicz as a representative of Werner Jaeger’s philohellenist movement of the 1920s and ‘30s, the Third Humanism. In his recent biographical study, Kay Schiller, similarly, places Kantorowicz (alongside Hans Baron) in the liberal-humanist tradition of German Bildung; see Bildung, German. *Gelehrte Gegenwelten: Über humanistische Leitbilder im 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000: 9-98.

55. Landauer, Carl. “Ernst Kantorowicz...”: 8-10.

56. Giesey, Ralph. “Ernst H. Kantorowicz...”: 198.

57. Ruehl, Martin A. “Time without Emperors...”: 189.

58. Giesey, Ralph. “Essay on Ernst Kantorowicz...”: 1-2. On the first page of this document, in pencil, it is written: “n.d. after 63 1979 c. 1982 see n. 24”. Thanks to this “n. 24” we know that this typewritten document by Giesey must effectively belongs to c. 1982, though still remains unpublished.



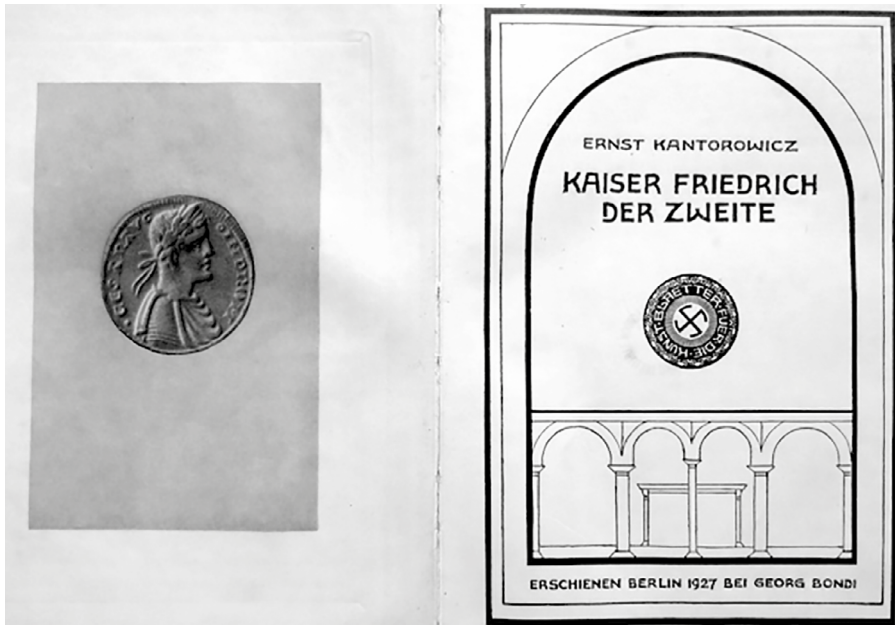


ILLUSTRATION 20. BOOK FRONTISPIECE AND TITLE PAGE OF ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ. *KAISER FRIEDRICH DER ZWEITE*. BERLIN: G. BONDI, 1927. THIS PARTICULAR COPY IS HELD AT THE WARBURG INSTITUTE LIBRARY WITH CLASSMARK HNA1100 AND ACQUISITION PRESSMARK 27/1156. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

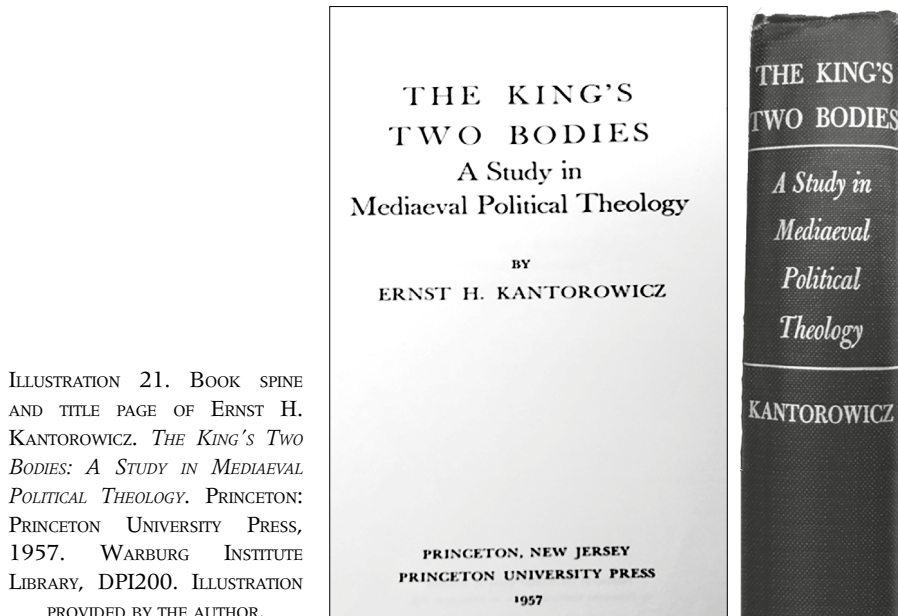


ILLUSTRATION 21. BOOK SPINE AND TITLE PAGE OF ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ. *THE KING'S TWO BODIES: A STUDY IN MEDIAEVAL POLITICAL THEOLOGY*. PRINCETON: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1957. WARBURG INSTITUTE LIBRARY, DPI200. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.



Both when he wrote “The Quinity of Winchester” for *The Warburg Institute Journal* and when he planned his unpublished book on *The Phases of Rulership* he was understanding the laws of history in front of the mirror of a Trinitarian scheme for history, and this responds to a very Joachimite-Nietzschean tripartite hermeneutic division. It does not mean that dictatorship, whether medieval or modern, must necessarily and always have a “heavenly” justification or a theological narrative in Kantorowicz’s thought. What is clear is that Kantorowicz had in mind for a long time the same name Frederick for two complementary historical characters: Frederick Nietzsche and Frederick Hohenstaufen.

5. Plans for publishing: Berkeley, 1943-1944

The “Kantorowicz disaster” led us to the rare Trinitarian iconography of the “Quinity” and this was useful for admitting a new theological richness beyond useless academicisms. The Trinity has three persons but may allow the dynamism of five. This new semantic meaning could be not exclusively artistic but further pointed to interesting historiographical schemes to be eventually applied for the Middle Ages. In addition to this, the contemporary reciprocal resonances between the “two Fredericks”, Nietzsche and Staufen, and an ambiguous border line between the Weimar Republic and the shadow of an eventual Kaiser could allow the Apollonian and reject the Dionysian.⁵⁹ In every political theology the risk of absolutism is always there: Who dominates the other one, the human nature or the divine? Is the Infant Jesus *also* equal to the Father in the unity of divinity? Why the Father and the Son must share the same throne (*synthronos* or *conregnans*),⁶⁰ if only the Son has the weakness of the human nature? What truthfully happens in the writings of Kantorowicz is that the historical shape of the whole medieval period is dominated by the variable notion of Trinity (equality or inequality of Persons in plurality of the notion of God).

59. On this see Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Birth of Tragedy*, eds. Raymond Geuss, Ronald Speirs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007: 17, where for him the early Greek theater combines the Dionysian principle of “enchantment” with that of Apollonian “vision” or epiphany.

60. For “synthronos”, “co-ruling” or “throne-sharing”, Kantorowicz uses the work of the Norman Anonymous, “De Consecratione Pontificum et Regum”, *Monumenta Germaniae historica Libelli de lite*, III, ed. Heinz Boehmer. Hanover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1897: III, 685, 686. “For when the king grants the investiture he is not a layman that grants it, but the *christus Domini*. That is, a *Christus Domini* ruling by grace together with him (*per gratiam ei conregnans*) who is *Christus Dominus* by nature [...]. Verily, that *Christus per gratiam*, the king, serves the *Christus per naturam*”. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Deus Per Naturam...”: 257. See also Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “The Quinity...”: 80, especially note 26.



5.1 Antiquity: *Deus homo. The Son*

With Constantine the Great we enter in a historical period marked by "The Thirteenth" (see ms. 1, 3 and 4). Although nothing else is noted in these three manuscripts, it seems that Kantorowicz is referring to "the thirteenth" verse of the chapter 12 of saint John's Gospel: "They took palm branches and went out to meet him, shouting, 'Hosanna!' 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!' 'Blessed is the king of Israel!'" Kantorowicz notes that Christ's entry is described in "The thirteenth" as *hgypantesis*, a technical term for the reception of kings.⁶¹ In the meantime, the ms. 2 complementary qualifies this period as "Christian Henotheism" (Illustration 15) whereas ms. 5 notes "Syncretism" (Illustration 16), both meaning the belief in and worship of a single God while accepting the existence or possible existence of other deities that may also be worshipped. In 1963 Kantorowicz returned to this Constantinian syncretism when he wrote about the combination of "emperor cult, pagan solar henotheism, and Christian monotheism during the fateful age of transition, the fourth century".⁶²

The following historical period, also in the Antiquity (*Deus-Homo*) is the Justinianian era. Whereas in all manuscripts Kantorowicz points to "Mysteries", "Christian Mystery Cult" or similar expressions, the ms. 1, 3 and 4 also note *Christomimesis*, and only the ms. 1 and 4 use the word *Epiklesis*. The main idea is that the historical period of Justinian the Great (c. 482-565) is marked by the fact that the emperor must imitate Christ Himself through Mystery and *Epiklesis*.

At a first glance it could seem that the word "mystery" concerned the mysteric religions in contrast with the orthodox Christianity contemporary to Justinian; or simply the Christian mysteries. What I suspect here is provided directly from Kantorowicz himself. He wrote that

"Sacrilege", to be sure, is a strong word which borders on the "zone of silence" reserved for mysteria and arcana, for actions in church and in court. "Mysteries of State", which today is often termed "Political Theology" which is also the necessary silence of the Emperor when he is about to invoke divinity. At the same time, the Mysteries of Justinianian State as "a late offshoot of that spiritual-secular hybridism which, as a result of the infinite cross-relations between the holy and

61. See Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "'The King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina". *Art Bulletin*, 26 (1944): 211. Such accounts, however, exaggerate the triumphalism of the Gospels according to Visser't Hooft; see Baldwin, Robert W. "'I slaughter barbarians': Triumph as a mode in medieval Christian art". *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 59/4 (1990): 225-242. The exegesis of Christ's arrival is discussed in McCormack, Sabine. "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus". *Historia*, 21 (1972): 725; and Gnillka, Christian. "Der Gabenzug der Städte bei der Ankunft des Herrn", *Iconologia sacra*, Hagen Keller, Nikolaus Staubach, eds. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994: 26-28, 32. This reference is from the more recent Warner, David A. "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich: The Ceremony of Adventus". *Speculum*, 76/2 (2001): 262, note 41.

62. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Oriens augusti. Lever du roi". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963): 152.



the profane", then the emperor should imitate Christ (*Christomimesis*) as the priest invokes the Holy Spirit upon the Eucharistic bread and wine in a real Epiklesis.⁶³

In *The King's Two Bodies* this is very well explained:

The emperor's mediatorship is expressed "liturgically", that is, by the *epiklesis* of the Spirit. [...]. The emperor is mediator and executor of the divine will through the power of the Holy Spirit, and not through the secular spirit of legal science.⁶⁴

In some way the two portraits we know from Justinian (Illustrations 22-23) reflect these three concepts concerning his corresponding phase in medieval rulership: (1) the emperor who imitates Christ (halo on his head, though not cruciform); (2) the Ruler who is embedded within the "Mysteries of the State" (in silence, he is both emperor and priest); and (3) the Priest who is in a way of *anamnesis* or preparation prayer for *epiklesis* (direct invocation to heaven). In addition to those two images, there is an even clearer mosaic in Ravenna where Justinian is sitting on a globe (Illustration 22), and having removed his imperial crown and delivered it to saint Vitale (SCSVITALIS), is about to receive the building of the saint Vitale Cathedral from the bishop at his left hand side (ECLESIVSEPIS). Two angels are mediators and the emperor is in cruciform-halo. There is an exchange between the human and the spiritual *Body of the king*. Justinian is neither full priest nor full king; he is half-ruler and half-Christ or, as points Kantorowicz in his ms. 4, *Qualis rex, talis Deus* (Illustration 13): he wears the imperial clothes and at the same time the Christomimetic halo of light.

The third of the "Phases of Medieval Rulership" is particularly interesting because in ms. 1, 3 and 4 is characterised by the "Tribal Kingship". In addition to this, in ms. 1 we see "Arianism-Son Adopted", as well as in ms. 2, 3 and 4. The ms. 5 is "Sonship: Germanic Kings", and the ms. 3 clarifies that all of this is concerning the rulership of Theodoric the Great (Illustration 24). This third phase of kingship is the last one of the first period on "Antiquity: *Deus-Homo*" (ms. 2) or "Antiquity: *Deus-Homo: The Son*" (ms. 3).

It is clear enough that we are in the context of theocentrism, very similar to the Carolingian period, when the English scholar Cathwulf wrote to Charlemagne: "Thou art the vicegerent of God, and the bishop is in the second place only, the viceregent of Christ".⁶⁵ What was the rulership style of the emperor Theodoric (454-526), king of the Germanic Ostrogoths (475-526), ruler of Italy (493-526), regent of the Visigoths (511-526), and a viceroy of the Eastern Roman Empire? One main issue is that Boethius eventually fell out of favour with Theodoric, perhaps out of a

63. For this paragraph, see Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Mysteries of State: An Absolutist Concept and its Late Mediaeval Origins". *The Harvard Theological Review*, 48/1 (1955): 65-69.

64. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 114-115.

65. *tu (rex mi) es in vice illius (Dei regis tui) [...] et episcopus est in secundo loco, in vice Christi tantum est. "Epistolae variorum Carolo Magno regnante scriptae", Monumenta Germaniae historica. Epistolae*, ed. Ernest Duemmler. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895: IV, 503. Quoted by Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 77, note 84.





ILLUSTRATION 22. APSE MOSAIC DETAIL WITH CHRIST AND ANGELS, SAN VITALE, RAVENNA, C. 525. JESUS CHRIST APPEARS, SEATED ON A BLUE GLOBE IN THE SUMMIT OF THE VAULT, ROBED IN PURPLE, WITH HIS RIGHT HAND OFFERING THE MARTYR'S CROWN TO SAINT VITALE. ON THE LEFT, BISHOP ECCLESIVS OFFERS A MODEL OF THE CHURCH. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY STEVEN ZUCKER (CREATIVE COMMONS LICENSE) [HTTPS://WWW.FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/PROFZUCKER/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/profzucker/).



ILLUSTRATION 23. EMPEROR JUSTINIAN AND HIS RETINUE, SAN VITALE, RAVENNA, 527 AD. MOSAIC WITH THE EAST ROMAN EMPEROR JUSTINIAN THE GREAT WITH A GOLDEN HALO. THE HALO AROUND HIS HEAD GIVES HIM THE SAME ASPECT AS CHRIST IN THE DOME OF THE APSE (ILLUSTRATION 22). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY FAUN070 (CREATIVE COMMONS LICENSE). [HTTPS://WWW.FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/FAUN070/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/faun070/).





ILLUSTRATION 24. GOLD MEDALLION OF THREE SOLIDI OF THEODERIC THE GREAT (471-526 AD). ROME, c. 493. INSCRIPTION: REX THEODERICVS PIVS PRINC(eps) I(NVICTUS) S(EMPER). NOW AT THE PALAZZO MASSIMO ALLE TERME, ROME. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY ANCIENT ART (CREATIVE COMMONS LICENSE).

suspicion that he was in sympathy with Justinian, emperor of the East, for Arian Theodoric was always somewhat of an outsider among Nicæan Christians. Theodoric then ordered Boethius to be executed in 525. The point here is that Theodoric's defence of Adoptionism turns out to be a type of medieval rulership if we sustain that Kantorowicz is playing with a Trinitarian scheme for the Late-Antiquity way of governing peoples.

The "Quinity of Winchester" pointed in some way to this same issue, when we saw Arius, together with Judas, at the feet of God (Illustration 9).

The infernal jaws, of course, are below the circle of the celestial sphere; and so are the two personages who are squeezed, right and left, into the spandrels of the underworld. They are Judas and Arius, according to the inscriptions. Both are naked, and their feet shackled.⁶⁶

Psalm 109 had been in the very center of the struggles between the orthodox Christians and the heterodox Arians. The orthodox champions had tried to prove the equality of the Son with the Father by calling upon the evidence of that Psalm, asserting that its words manifested the co-equality of the two *synthronoi*. The Arians, claiming the inferiority of the Son to the Father, ridiculed those alleged proofs. Mockingly they said that the metaphor of the Son sitting at the right side of the Father proved next to nothing; from this evidence one might as well deduce the superiority of the Son over the Father because *qui est in dexteram, ipse est maior*.⁶⁷ To this St. Ambrose found it easy to reply: *Divinitas gradus nescit*.⁶⁸

Still, the Arians continued to heckle and to minimize the significance of the throne-partnership as described in the Psalm. They claimed that according to the self-same verse the Son shared the divine throne not as an equal but only because he had been "ordered" to do so —*quia iussus sedet ad dexteram*. And they concluded that the Father who ordered was greater than the Son who obeyed.⁶⁹ In short, the

66. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Quinity...": 73.

67. Spagnolo, Antonio; Turner, Cuthbert Hamilton. "An Arian Sermon from a MS in the Chapter Library of Verona". *Journal of Theological Studies*, 13 (1912): 20.

68. Sanctus Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus. "De fide libri quinqu", *Patrologiae. Coursus completes*. Paris: Jacques-Paul Migne editorem, 1845: XVI, col. 582 (book II, chapter 12, §105).

69. *Una natura iubet et facit: Deus iubet, Deus facit. Iubet pictor ut pingat pictor, et pictor pingit quod pingi praeceperat*. Hieronymus. *Tractatus in Librum Psalmorum*, ed Germain Morin. Maredsous: Abbaye de Maredsous, 1897: III/ 2, 309 (Psalm 81,1).

Arians, though quite ready to acknowledge the mediatorship of the Son, refused to recognize a status of the Glorified co-equal with that of the Father.⁷⁰ If we translate this theological controversy in the terms of one of the phases of medieval rulership, it is possible to say that if Christ is King though —following Arius—, inferior to the Father because of his (also) human nature, Theodoric is the image on earth of a Son-Adopted who is “less God than the Father”. As a consequence of this Theocentrism (against the Justinian Christomimesis), the Emperor should have two different instances to invoke in order to supervise a *Tribal Kingship* whose relation with the divine still was dependent on the king's relation with the divine, and the proper *blot* (“sacrifice”) was primarily the ruler's affair. Consequently, the conversion of the *folc* (“nation”) stemmed from the conversion of the king to the more powerful deity, since it was the king's relationship with the gods which “saved” his people as much as did the gods themselves. When the king turned to Christ, it was done *cum sua gente*. The king was also leader of the war-hosts but also the charismatic mediator with the divine, the sacral holder of the tribal “luck”.⁷¹

5.2 Middle Ages: Homo et Deus

We enter now in the second part of this unpublished *book in preparation* whose title in ms. 1, 3 and 4 is “Kingship and Godhead in the Middle Ages”. This is the central part of the book in which Kantorowicz seems to feel the most comfortable. Not in vain the subtitle of his major book, *The King's Two Bodies*, was to be *A Study in Medieval Political Theology*.

We commented before on the fact that Kantorowicz's political-historiographical ideas were welcome amongst the members of the Nazi movement probably because they were collectively mirroring on the character of Frederick Hohenstaufen.⁷² However, in April 1933 he put himself on leave in protest against anti-Semitic regulations that were imposed in the wake of the Nazis ascent to power and in 1934 he lost his chair and was forced to retire and become professor emeritus.⁷³

The five years between leaving the University and leaving the German nation (1934-1939) had to have been stressful for Kantorowicz. Not only was the dignity of his ethnic origin offended, but also his sense of national pride was humiliated. Much of these years were spent outside the country. In England, he wrote the first of his articles on the legal-intellectual relations between Norman Sicily and Norman England. In Belgium and France he did considerable work on the Burgundian Duke Charles the Bold. But most of the time was spent in Berlin, working on what might be called “early medieval political liturgy”. A complete manuscript was ready for publication by 1938, but new laws against Jews'

70. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “The Quinity...”: 80.

71. Chaney, William A. *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: the Transition from Paganism to Christianity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970: 14, 167.

72. On this, go back to our section on “The two Fredericks”.

73. *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden, 1933-1945*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Kramer, 1963: 99-100.



publishing thwarted that. The work did not appear until 1946, after having been rendered in English by the author under the title *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*.⁷⁴

5.3 *Regnum Davidicum or Theomimesis*

The Biblical king David is the key point to understand the fourth phase in the development of a theory of historical medieval kingship in the Carolingian period. Ms. 1, 3 and 4 postulates for Charlemagne rulership a *Regnum Davidicum* and ms. 1 and 3 point furthermore the way of doing it, so that *Theomimesis* must mean more the Old Testament Yahveh than Christ, despite the king David prefigured the New Testament Christology. In addition to this, ms. 2 and 5 point to “Charlemagne: Old Testament. Psalter”, whereas ms. 4 Francis (?) Gallican Kingship: *Regnum Davidicum*”.

With only one image all of these nuances may be explained as a whole. When we see the King Edgar of England (959-975) offering his charter to Christ in the frontispiece miniature of the New Minster charter of c. 966 (Illustration 25),⁷⁵ we immediately think on the King David holding the Book of Psalms (Psalter) as being inspired by the God of the Old Testament. This way of depicting David is exactly the one of the Shaftesbury Psalter, of the British Library with a historiated initial “B” of David holding a book with standing men behind him, and below, musicians and a devil (Illustration 26-27).⁷⁶ The British Library description says that in this image, “above the initial is a bust of Christ and the four symbols of the Evangelists”, though here God is not Christ but God surrounded by the Ezekiel’s four living creatures (Ez. 1:5-15.), following the Carolingian philosophy of State: “There is a relationship between the ruler on his throne and the far remote Father in Heaven; but Christ is absent from those scenes. The Carolingian concept of a David-like kingship was decisively theocentric.”⁷⁷

Gallican kingship existed in this way, as it is interesting to be reminded: “when [...] long before Philip IV of France, in his struggle against Pope Boniface VIII, to bring the whole “Gallican Church” part and parcel into the French *patria* headed by the king”.⁷⁸

74. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Laudes regiae: a study in liturgical acclamations and mediaeval ruler worship*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946; Giesey, Ralph. “Essay on Ernst Kantorowicz...”: 6-7. On Kantorowicz difficulties to publish this study: “In a *curriculum vitae* of early 1939 he reported that a book in German on ‘Laudes Regiae’ had been ‘planned as a private print, but withdrawn by the publisher quite recently’”. LBA. Ernst Kantorowicz Collection, AR7216, box 1, folder 2; Lerner, Robert E. *Ernst Kantorowicz. A Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018: 457.

75. BL. Cotton Vespasian, A VIII, f. 2v (second half of the 10th century).

76. BL. Lansdowne, 383, f. 15v (Psalter the “Shaftesbury Psalter”), with calendar and prayers, England, 2nd quarter of the 12th century).

77. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King’s...: 77*.

78. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King’s...: 229*.





ILLUSTRATION 25. KING EDGAR OF ENGLAND (959–975) OFFERING HIS CHARTER TO CHRIST. FRONTISPIECE OF THE NEW MINSTER CHARTER, c. 966. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, COTTON VESPASIAN A VLLL F. 2V.

After the *Regnum Davidicum* Carolingian pattern of rulership, Kantorowicz goes ahead with Otto III, Holy Roman Emperor from 996 until his early death in 1002, and the only son of the Emperor Otto II and his wife Theophanu. For Kantorowicz, this is the “Monastic Christomimesis” (in ms. 1, 3 and 4), “Imperial Apostleship” (ms. 2), “Apostolism” (ms. 2) with base in the “Epistles” (ms. 2) and the “Acts of Apostles” (ms. 5). It is also the phase of rulership corresponding to the “Saxons and Salians” (ms. 4). In this respect, Kantorowicz had seen the Liuthar Gospels or Gospels of Otto III which are a work of Ottonian illumination counted among the masterpieces of the the Ottonian Renaissance. This manuscript was probably





ILLUSTRATION 26. HISTORIATED INITIAL “B” (EATUS) AT THE BEGINNING OF PSALM 1 OF DAVID HOLDING A BOOK WITH STANDING MEN BEHIND HIM, AND BELOW, MUSICIANS AND A DEVIL. SHAFTESBURY PSALTER WITH CALENDAR AND PRAYERS, ENGLAND, 2ND QUARTER OF THE 12TH CENTURY. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, LANSDOWNE 383, F. 15v.

created around the year 1000 at the order of Otto III at the Abbey of Reichenau.⁷⁹ He described the famous anointing of Otto III (Illustrations 28-29),⁸⁰ that Kantorowicz controvertibly thought to be Otto II:

79. Warner, David A. “Ideals and action in the reign of Otto III”. *Journal of Medieval History*, 25/1 (1999): 1-18.

80. Enthroning of Otto III, Gospels of Otto III. BS. Clm 4453, f. 16r (late 10th or early 11th century).



ILLUSTRATION 27. HISTORIATED INITIAL "B" (EATUS). DETAIL OF A BUST OF CHRIST AND THE FOUR SYMBOLS OF THE EVANGELISTS. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, LANSDOWNE 383, F. 15V.



ILLUSTRATION 28. ENTHRONING OF OTTO III, GOSPELS OF OTTO III (MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, CLM 4453, LATE 10TH OR EARLY 11TH CENTURY, FOL. 16R).



This atypical image thus depicts Otho III, holding a royal orb, inside a mandorla, usually used to depict the Christ. He is supported by Terra. The four figures holding the white shawl represents the Four Evangelists (the lion of Mark and the steer of Luke), with the Hand of God (perhaps of Christ, argues Kantorowicz) touching Otho. At the time of Otho II's anointing, hands were not anointed (they were, however, soon after, a detail which gives weight to Kantorowicz's interpretation): this may explain why they are located below the shawl, which would represent the tabernacle or divide between Earth and Heaven. Thus, the upper part of Otho is in Heaven, the lower part on Earth. Two archbishops and two warriors are depicted on the bottom, and one important prince (or *reguli*, as shown by their crowns) on each side of the stool.⁸¹

Why it is important for Kantorowicz the anointing of an Ottonian emperor, whether Otto II or III? It is because the anointment means Apostolicity or, so to speak, the Ottonian emperor receives the so called *Mandatum*. This links with another text of Kantorowicz published in 1956 for *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*: "The Baptism of the Apostles".⁸² At the beginning of this text, the author is acknowledged to Professor Manfred Bukofze, whose findings prompted Kantorowicz to raise the question whether the so-called *Mandatum*—the ritual Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday—had any significance beyond the obvious one of establishing the supreme example of humility and charity.

Thanks to this research, Kantorowicz realised the performance of that ceremonious laying could be projected into the political sphere, in so far as it was practiced in the later Middle Ages by Byzantine emperors and Western kings.⁸³ If we see, in conclusion, the miniature of Otto III enthroned between Church and State (Illustration 29)⁸⁴ the emperor is surrounded by the main apostles, Peter and Paul ("Epistles", "Acts of the Apostles", says Kantorowicz in ms. 2 and 5), and behind him the symbols of the Church and the State, in an attitude of "Imperial Apostleship": he receives, like Peter his particular *Mandatum* for governing the Ottonian Empire on behalf of Christ Himself:

"If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet". It was an example of humility and charity set to the disciples, a *Mandatum novum* or new commandment of mutual love—and this is what the *Mandatum* was in the first place.⁸⁵

81. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 75.

82. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Baptism of the Apostles". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9/10 (1956): 203-251.

83. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Baptism...": 205.

84. Gospels of Otto III. BS. Clm 4453, f. 24r (late 10th or early 11th century).

85. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Baptism...": 210.





ILLUSTRATION 29. OTTO III ENTHRONED BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE, GOSPELS OF OTTO III (MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, CLM 4453, LATE 10TH OR EARLY-11TH CENTURY, FOL. 24R).

5.4 Monastic Christomimesis and Imperial Apostleship

"From liturgy to law" has been written by Professor Janet N. Nelson, with the intention of summarising Kantorowicz's interpretation of the transit from the Carolingian to the Ottonian period. She also thinks that it "was a tag (in variant forms) of E. H. Kantorowicz. It was a subtext in his *Laudes regiae* (1946) and became a theme in *The King's Two Bodies* (1957), and in a subsequent paper in a widely read work aimed at college students (1961)".⁸⁶ Kantorowicz taught that in medieval political theology, as literature and iconography showed, it was developed the difference between the God-centred and the Christ-centred monarchy.⁸⁷

The ninth-century Carolingian throne images reflected a direct relationship of God to the king as God's viceregent; Christ as the second Person of the Trinity seems

86. Nelson, Janet N. "Liturgy or law: misconceived alternatives?", *Early medieval studies in memory of Patrick Wormald*, Baxter, Stephen D., ed. London: Ashgate, 2009.

87. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Kingship under the impact of scientific jurisprudence". *Twelfth-century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, Clagett, Marshall; Post, Gaines; Reynolds, Robert L., eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.



to be absent in them. In the enthroning of Otto III of the Gospels of Munich Christ is not there explicitly but just the hand of God appearing from Heaven (Illustration 28).⁸⁸ And in the depiction of Otto between the Church and the State, the change from Christ-centring to Law-centring in the imperial kingship is rapidly evolving. In this image the emperor appears equidistant between the sword and the Bible (Illustration 29).⁸⁹ The subsequent concept of kingship, affected by one-hundred or more years of *Christ-centred monastic piety* (the 9th century), was going to be different. In this context of medieval rulership, after the *Regnum Davidicum*, it comes for Kantorowicz the period of “Henry III and Gregory VII: Apostolism. Acts” (ms. 2), “Pontifical Apostleship and the Law” (ms. 1), “Reform papacy: Apostolicity. Law-centeredness” (ms. 4), “Verus imperator: Gregorian Sea” (ms. 5) and “Saxons and Salians: Monastic Christ-mimesis. Apostleship” (ms. 4).

In Kantorowicz’s interpretation of this phase of kingship one should expect more “Henry IV and Gregory VII” than “Henry III and Gregory VII”. The reason of this is that the “Investiture Contest” seems to concern more directly the pair Henry IV-Gregory VII than Henry III instead. In 1046 Henry III deposed three rival popes. Over the next ten years he personally selected four of the next five pontiffs. Henry III’s most controversial actions involved his dealings with the Church and especially the papacy. The papacy had fallen upon evil days, with three popes, each claiming the office and all tainted with scandal. Angered at this, Henry in 1046 entered Italy and at a synod held in Sutri deposed all three —Sylvester III, Gregory VI, and Benedict IX— and selected a pope of his own, Clement II. After the death of Clement, the emperor appointed still another one, Leo IX, who was his friend and cousin Bishop Bruno of Toul, a Lorrainer.

It was this pope who surrounded himself with northern and Tuscan reformers and started freeing the papacy from secular control and thus began to establish the popes as leaders of the entire Western Church. Kantorowicz is more interested in the contrast between Henry III and Gregory VII because it was Henry III who unwittingly laid the foundations of a papal reform with which his successors had to cope.⁹⁰ Kantorowicz wants to foresee the problem before it is historically explicit. He realises the problem of the appraisal of the Gregorian Sea and the relationships between the king Henry III and the pope Gregory VII which concern more an Apostolism as in the biblical Acts. The miniature of Bremen⁹¹ shows Henry III at 5th June 1040, at his anniversary of acceptance of reign and investing two members of the ecclesiastical power (Illustration 30).⁹²

88. Enthroning of Otto III. Gospels of Otto III. BS. Clm. 4453, f. 16r.

89. Otto III enthroned between Church and State. Gospels of Otto III. BS. Clm. 4453, f. 24r.

90. Tellenbach, Gerd. *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; Barraclough, Geoffrey. *Origins of Modern Germany*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984; Ullman, Walter. *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A study in the ideological relation of clerical to lay power*. London: Methuen, 1955; Russell, Jeffrey. *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*. Eugene-Orlando: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2005.

91. Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor, mid-11th century miniature. Gospel Lectionary of Henry III 1039-1040. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen. Ms. b. 21, f. 3v.

92. Laudage, Johannes. “Heinrich III. (1017-1056). Ein Lebensbild”, *Das salische Kaiser-Evangeliar: Codex Aureus Spirensis, Escorialensis; der goldene Pracht-Codex Heinrichs III*, Johannes Rathofer, ed. Münster: Verlag



Following this analysis, the monarch would be the mediator between God and men in the same sense of the Apostles in the *Book of Acts*. We have written above that in 1954⁹³ Kantorowicz used some materials of Professor Manfred Bukofzer for his studies in musicology, who in 1950 had ventured to say that rite might have something to do with the "Baptism of the Apostles",⁹⁴ expression that he used for his article in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* of 1956.⁹⁵ For him, the performance of the ceremonious laving (John 13:1-15) could be projected into the political sphere, in so far as it was practiced in the later Middle Ages by Byzantine emperors and Western kings.⁹⁶

The key question here is again the mediation between God and men and the problem of the political dimension of apostleship: "Were the apostles baptized or not? And if they were, was it Christ himself or another person who baptized them?"⁹⁷ Apostleship means for Kantorowicz that the type of rulership of the King Henry III is not the one of Christ baptizing Apostles but rather the one of Apostles baptizing other apostles. Behind the contemporary theory of the identification of *ecclesia* and *mundus* was also the reality of Benedictine cooperation with leaders of lay society. The monastic order became the keystone of the early medieval equilibrium. The benefits the Church derived from the equilibrium finally affected the papacy itself in the late 1040's. Henry III, the outstanding leader of Western Christendom, taking with complete seriousness the powers of *rex et sacerdos*, which he was supposed to have obtained at his coronation, set about rescuing the papacy from the Roman nobility. In 1049 he placed on the papal throne one of his own kinsmen, the best German bishop he could find for restoration of papal prestige and reformation of the papal court. The astounding result is well known. The younger churchmen from Lorraine and northern Italy whom Leo IX and his immediate successors recruited for the College of Cardinals in the mid-eleventh century became the revolutionary ideologue who unleashed the attack on the early medieval equilibrium.

This development is all the more surprising and disturbing if it is remembered that the controversy that followed was to a large extent a series of disputes within the ranks of the monastic order itself, which had become so much involved with the maintenance of the world order the Gregorians were trying to overthrow. Both the revolutionaries in the Roman Curia and their ablest critics in various parts of

Bibliotheca Rara, 1995: 87-145.

93. Kantorowicz delivered this paper at the "Symposium on Byzantine Liturgy and Music" at Dumbarton Oaks in April 1954.

94. Bukofzer, Manfred. *Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance Music*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1950: 238, note 47.

95. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Baptism...": 203-251.

96. De Laborde, Alexandre. *La Bible moralisée illustrée, conservée à Oxford, Paris, et Londres*. Paris: Pour les membres de la Société, 1911-1927: III, 485. British Museum. Harley. MS. 1526-27, f. 14v. For the royal ritual (practiced in Hapsburg Austria until the twentieth century), see, in general, Marténe, Edmond. *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*. Bassano del Grappa: Bassani Remondini, 1788: III, 100 (book IV, chapter XXII, 8, 3), whose earliest example refers to King Robert of France (996-1031). This reference is obviously provided by Kantorowicz himself in Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Baptism...": 242-243, notes 1 and 160.

97. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "The Baptism...": 207.





ILLUSTRATION 30. HENRY III, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR, MID-11TH CENTURY MINIATURE (STAATS-UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK BREMEN, MS. B. 21, FOL. 3V).

Western Europe were members of the regular clergy. Damian, the guiding spirit of north Italian monasticism, was praising Henry III's piety in the 1040's and baldly stating that the Emperor had received a divine dispensation to set in order the affairs of the Roman Church.⁹⁸ Just before his death in 1072, Damian was threatening Henry III's son and successor with the prospect of papal deposition which another monk Gregory VII would carry out three years later.⁹⁹

But after Henry III's death, in 1056, these abuses of the system brought a rapid reaction. Pope Nicholas II, elected in 1058, initiated a process of reform which

98. Rough, Robert H. *The Reformist of Illuminations in the Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. A Study in the Art of the Age of Gregory VII*. The Hague: Springer, 1973: 17-36 (chapter "Medieval Commentaries on the Cleansing").

99. Cantor, Norman F. "The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130". *The American Historical Review*, 66/1 (1960): 58-59.

exposed the underlying tension between empire and papacy. In 1059, at a synod in Rome, Nicholas condemned various abuses within the church, including simony, the marriage of clergy and, more controversially, corrupt practices in papal elections. Nicholas then restricted the choice of a new pope to a conclave of cardinals, thus ruling out any direct lay influence. Imperial influence was his clear target. In 1061 the assembled bishops of Germany—the emperor's own faction—declared all the decrees of this pope null and void.¹⁰⁰

In this way Nicholas II had taken two political steps of a kind, unusual at this period, which would later be commonplace for the medieval papacy. He granted land, already occupied, to recipients of his own choice; and he involved those recipients in a feudal relationship with the papacy, or the Holy See, as the feudal lord. This time the beneficiaries were the Normands,¹⁰¹ who were granted territorial rights in southern Italy and Sicily in return for feudal obligations to Rome. The pope, in an overtly political struggle against the German emperor, had played a strong hand. The issue would be brought to a head within a few years by Gregory VII. Pope Gregory seized political control by decreeing in 1075 that no lay ruler may make ecclesiastical appointments.¹⁰² Powerful bishops and abbots were henceforth to be the pope's men rather than the emperor's men. In subsequent periods compromises were made on both sides, particularly in the Concordat of Worms in 1122 where a distinction was made between the spiritual and secular elements in clerical appointments.¹⁰³

Gregory VII excommunicated Henry IV after he was mocked by him in a letter disagreeing with the pope's Gregorian Reform. Realizing that excommunication would not help him as Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV returned to ask the pope to allow him back into the church. Despite this, Henry IV decided later to invade Rome and to elect his own pope. Again Gregory VII excommunicated Henry IV and he remained excommunicated from the church until his death, as shown in one of the pages of the Chronicle of Otto von Freising (Illustration 31).¹⁰⁴ In addition to this image, two other: the *Vita Mathildis*, with the scene of Hugh of Cluny, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV and Matilda of Tuscany, explains the absolution of Henry IV at Canossa after his first excommunication (Illustration 32).¹⁰⁵

100. Colomer, Josep M.; McLean, Iain. "Electing popes: approval balloting and qualified-majority rule". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 29/1 (1998): 1-22.

101. Łukaszewski, Marcin. "Evolution of the voting system in the electoral process of the Roman Pontiff". *Proceedings in ARSA-Advanced Research in Scientific Areas*, 1 (2012): 508-512.

102. Murray, Alexander. "Pope Gregory VII and his Letters". *Traditio*, 22 (1966): 149-202.

103. Carlyle, Alexander J. "The development of the theory of the authority of the spiritual over the temporal power from Gregory VII to Innocent III". *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 5 (1924): 33.

104. Antipope Clement III (center) with Emperor Henry IV. The enthronement of Henry IV and Clement III, and the flight and death of Gregory VII at the Chronicle of Bishop Otto of Freising at Codex Jenensis Bose, q. 6 (1157).

105. Miniature of Matilda from the early twelfth-century manuscript of Donizo's *Vita Mathildis* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vat. Lat. 4922, f. 49r). The image emphasises Matilda's key role in the absolution of Henry IV at Canossa. Matilda is depicted seated. Henry IV kneels at her feet in supplication.





ILLUSTRATION 31. ABOVE: HENRY IV DRIVING GREGORY VII OUT OF ROME. BELOW: IN 1085 POPE GREGORY VII DIES IN EXILE IN SOUTHERN ITALY. MS. OF THE "LIFE OF KING HENRY IV" IN THE CHRONICLE OF BISHOP OTTO OF FREISING (1157) (THÜRINGER UNIVERSITÄTS- UND LANDESBIBLIOTHEK JENA, MS. BOSE Q. 6).

Already under Gregory VII we find, after the excommunication of Henry IV, documents which show the date: *Domno nostro papa Gregorio Romanum imperium tenente*.¹⁰⁶

It was perhaps in competition with the Byzantine emperor that Pope Gregory VII claimed the "halo" for every pope, as it were, *ex dignitate officii*.¹⁰⁷

Who did used to have more authority, Gregory VII or Henry III? It seems that Henry III put the basis for law-centeredness instead of Christ-centeredness in

Abbot Hugh of Cluny points towards Matilda. The script underneath reads: *Rex rogat abbatem. Mathilim supplicat atque* ("The king prays to the abbot, and pleads with Matilda").

106. Chevalier, Ulysse. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Bernard de Romans*. Romans: without publisher, 1898: I, 203 (doc. No. 168, 188); Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Laudes regiae...": 140, note 93. Quoted by Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 335, note 72.

107. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 81.



ILLUSTRATION 32. HUGH OF CLUNY, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR HENRY IV, AND MATILDA OF TUSCANY, 1115. BIBLIOTHECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, CODEX VATICANUS LATINUS, 4922, F. 49R. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY ANCIENT ART (CREATIVE COMMONS LICENSE).

different senses: 1) The regulation of popes' election through a council of cardinals; 2) the control over the appointment of new bishops, as Matthias was elected in the *Book of Acts* (1:12-26); 3) the ensuring of papal superiority over secular rulers (*Dictatus papae* and the bull *Libertas ecclesiae*);¹⁰⁸ and 4) the use of the monastic order of Cluny for the Romanisation of liturgy and for providing plenty of new bishops.¹⁰⁹ Only under these considerations it is possible to understand the mind

108. Gilchrist, John. "Pope Gregory VII and the juristic sources of his ideology". *Canon Law in the Age of Reform, 11th-12th Centuries*. London: Ashgate, 1993: 5.

109. "Yet it appears that the only part she [Cluny] can be said to have played in preparing for the reform of Gregory VII was an indirect one. She had become an international system, and by looking beyond the bishop to the pope as head, she had enormously strengthened the prestige and power of Rome" and "True, her general aim had been to awaken a spirit of holiness in the world, and as many of her monks became bishops she had helped to raise the standard of spiritual life in the Church". Smith, Lucy M. "Cluny and Gregory VII". *The English Historical Review*, 26/101 (1911): 25, 33.



of Kantorowicz when he summarises this rulership period under the expressions: “*Verus imperator: Gregorian sea*” (ms. 4).

A last word on the paradox between Gregorianism and Royalism must be said before finishing with this section. When in 1951 George H. Williams¹¹⁰ published *The Norman Anonymous*¹¹¹ of 1100 AD,¹¹² Kantorowicz reacted the year after against his eventual anti-Gregorian royalism:

*Dr. George H. Williams recent study [...] may be taken as an excuse for delving once more into the highly suggestive pamphlets of this anti-Gregorian royalist.*¹¹³

The arguments of the Norman writer may be startling but they are startling only in their application to the Church-State struggle of post-Gregorian Europe and their integration into a complex system and a well-proportioned edifice of medieval royalism.¹¹⁴

The crucial sentence to which Dr. Williams’ chapter-heading alludes is found in the tractate *De Romano Pontifice*, but its essence is rendered more concisely in the tractate *De Consecratione Pontificum et Regum* in which the Norman Anonymous puts forth with greatest vigor his ideas about the proportions prevailing between the divine and the royal power:¹¹⁵ “The king’s power is the power of God, but it is God’s by nature, the king’s by grace.”¹¹⁶

And Kantorowicz’s conclusion help to explain his own handwritten manuscripts quoted above: “What matters here is only the combination of the antithesis ‘God-by-nature, god-by-grace’ with the broad idea of homo-rex imago Dei and of the God-vicariate of the ‘image’”.¹¹⁷

Another antithesis like the one of “Saxons and Salians” of Kantorowicz’s ms. 4 is drafted in the *King’s Two Bodies*:

110. George Huntston Williams (1914-2000) was an American professor of Unitarian theology and historian of the Socinian movement. See Williams, George Huntston. “Towards a Complete Bibliography of the Writings of George Huntston Williams”. *The Harvard Theological Review*, 67/2 (1974): 139-153.

111. The Norman Anonymous (sometimes Anonymous of Rouen or Anonymous of York) is the name given to the author of a collection of treatises, the *Tractatus Eboracenses*, dealing with the relationship between kings and the Catholic Church. The author, whose identity remains a mystery, offered some of the most strongly worded defenses of royal authority and even superiority to the Catholic Church ever uttered in the medieval West. Surviving in just a single manuscript, the text is the only contribution made by the Anglo-Norman realm to the Investiture Controversy.

112. Williams, George Huntston. *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 AD*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

113. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Deus per Naturam...”: 253.

114. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Deus per Naturam...”: 257.

115. Following Kantorowicz. Norman Anonymous. “De Consecratione Pontificum et Regum...”: 662.

116. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Deus per Naturam...”: 254. *Potestas enim regis potestas Dei est, Dei quidem est per naturam, regis per gratiam*. Norman Anonymous. “De Consecratione Pontificum et Regum...”: 667.

117. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Deus per Naturam...”: 266.



It is remarkable for the changing patterns of piety and for the general religious mood after the Carolingian period, during which the *vicarius Dei* predication seems to have been the rule, a definite preference for *vicarius Christi* becomes noticeable in the Christocentric age of the Ottonians and early Salians.¹¹⁸

Moreover, here we discover the sense of the allusion to the “Monastic Christomimesis” of ms. 1 and 3: “The shift from *vicarius Dei* to *vicarius Christi* should probably be sought in the later ninth century as a result of the clericalisation of the royal office, of the language of the [Coronation]¹¹⁹ *Ordines*, and of the spirit on monastic piety”.¹²⁰ But we have to keep going with the reestablishment of imperial power under the Hohenstaufen dynasty and its Apocalyptic dimensions.¹²¹

5.5 The Law and Antichrist: *Divus Imperator*

We turn now to one of the most important topics in the phases of medieval rulership in Kantorowicz's manuscripts: the meaning of the kingship of Frederick II Hohenstaufen directly involved in our quotation of Nietzsche at the beginning of this chapter: “[...] I also shall found a city some day, as a memento of an atheist



ILLUSTRATION 33. ANVERS OF HALF AUGUSTALE OF THE EMPEROR
FREDERICK II (KING OF SICILY, 1198-1250). BRINDISI MINT. STRUCK
C. 1231-1250. LAUREATE, DRAPED, AND CUIRASSED BUST RIGHT. EAGLE
STANDING LEFT, HEAD RIGHT, WITH WINGS SPREAD; TWO PELLETS BY HEAD.
PRIVATE COLLECTION.

118. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 90.

119. This can be deduced by the context.

120. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 90, note 9.

121. Rubenstein, Jay. *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*. New York: Basic Books, 2011: 18.



and genuine enemy of the Church, a person very closely related to me, the great Hohenstaufen, the Emperor Frederick II".¹²²

The handwritings of Kantorowicz remark on two different dimensions of this historical character: The Law and Antichrist (ms. 1, 3 and 4) and the Apocalypse (ms. 2 and 5). Both of them have been partly commented above with occasion of his doctoral dissertation (*Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, 1927), his account of Frederick II's Sicilian tyranny and the model of "total" state, his ideal of Frederick as a true progenitor of the Renaissance, and lastly the mutual complementariness of Frederick Nietzsche and Frederick Hohenstaufen as historical characters.¹²³

*That Nietzsche's philosophy hides a disguised form of Joachimite theology of history may have been intuited by many, but it has only been suggested by few and fully evaluated by none. Is it true that Nietzsche's philosophy is a secularized Joachimite eschatology? In this regard, we do not want to suggest that Nietzsche's philosophy can be equated with Joachim's, or that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the two. Rather, it has been pointed that there is essentially a similar structure in their respective philosophies and that Nietzsche's philosophy of history demonstrates, in fundamental agreement with the view expressed by Norman Cohn and Karl Löwith, the ongoing tradition of Joachimism, the doctrine of eternal recurrence notwithstanding.*¹²⁴

What is clear from Kantorowicz's proposal for the phases of medieval rulership is that history is equal to eschatology; the last chapter of his draft-book is in ms. 5 "Apocalypse: Frederick II" (Illustration 33).

Anyone who has read *Meaning in History* will recognize the broad lines of interpretation of Western historical thought that are developed in this work. According to this book, Western historical thought is rooted in the original Christian experience of time, which distinguished itself from the type of cosmological interpretation of historical time, modeled on the cyclical ebb and flow of natural events, which had characterized ancient Greek speculation. The shift inaugurated by the early Christians in relation to this ancient experience of historical time occurred with the emergence of Christian eschatological faith for which history, far from turning eternally in a circle, opens out to the future and orients itself in terms of a goal: toward the *eschaton* in the guise of the end of the world and of the last judgment.¹²⁵

[...] to [the historian Karl] Löwith's mind, the heritage of this movement [Joachinism] was particularly fateful. In a footnote Löwith recalls the fascination it elicited throughout the centuries up until the contemporary period.¹²⁶

122. Nietzsche, Friedrich. "Beyond Good and Evil...": XII, 11.

123. We also used Abulafia, David. "Kantorowicz...": 193-210.

124. Ausmus, Harry, J. "Nietzsche and Eschatology...": 347.

125. Barash, Jeffrey A. "The Sense of History: On the Political Implications of Karl Löwith's Concept of Secularization". *History and Theory*, 37/1 (1998): 71.

126. Löwith, Karl. *Meaning in History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949: 245. Written during the period of his emigration to the United States, during and just after World War II, the originality of



This fascination was reflected by the enormous influence of the book of Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick II*, with its theme of a messianic mission bequeathed to a "secret Germany" by the struggles of the fourteenth century until the utter profanation of this mission by Adolf Hitler.¹²⁷

Another footnote recalls the persistence among the fascist ideologues of themes borrowed from this movement.¹²⁸ In an astonishing passage at the very end of the chapter in *Meaning in History* dealing with Joachim, Löwith included the following lines which, in a book so politically discreet, are surprisingly charged with political significance:

The revolution which had been proclaimed within the framework of an eschatological faith and with reference to a perfect monastic life was taken over, five centuries later, by a philosophical priesthood, which interpreted the process of secularization in terms of a "spiritual" realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. As an attempt at realization, the spiritual pattern of Lessing, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel could be transposed into the positivistic and materialistic schemes of Comte and Marx. The third dispensation of the Joachites reappeared as a third International and a third Reich, inaugurated by a *dux* or *Führer* who was acclaimed as a saviour and greeted by millions with Heil! The source of all these formidable attempts to fulfill history by and within itself is the passionate, but fearful and humble, expectation of the Franciscan Spirituals that a last conflict will bring history to its climax and end.¹²⁹

The King's Two Bodies starts with "Christ-centered kingship" (chiefly the eleventh century: the Age of the Father), and moves through "law-centered kingship" (where Frederick II appears in different guise than thirty years earlier: the Age of the Son) and "polity-centered kingship" (where the metaphor of the mystical body of the church becomes the mystical body of the state: the Age of the Spirit) to "how notions of continuity and corporations affected kingship" ("the king never dies").¹³⁰

In this way Kantorowicz's scheme of the phases of medieval rulership seem to be likewise Joachimite.

Frederick II Hohenstaufen, *Stupor mundi* (wonder of the world), was the most enlightened ruler of the medieval European world, and single-handedly almost ignited a renaissance¹³¹ a century before it took hold in Western Europe. Besides

Karl Löwith's book *Meaning in History* lies in its resolute critique of all forms of philosophy of history. This critique is based on the now famous idea that modern philosophies of history have only extended and deepened an illusion fabricated by a long tradition of Christian historical reflection: the illusion that history itself has an intrinsic goal. This modern extension and deepening of the chimera propagated by Christian historical reflection is what Löwith terms "secularization".

127. Barash, Jeffrey A. "The Sense of History...": 75.

128. Löwith, Karl. *Meaning in History*...: 245.

129. Löwith, Karl. *Meaning in History*...: 159.

130. Giesey, Ralph. "Essay on Ernst Kantorowicz...": 9.

131. Shearer, Cresswell. *The Renaissance of Architecture in Southern Italy: A Study of Frederick of Hohenstaufen and the Capua Triumphator Archway and Towers*. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1935.





ILLUSTRATION 34. ANTICHRIST SEDUCING MEN. MASTER OF THE MAZARINE AND COLLABORATORS. VOYAGES OF JEAN DE MANDEVILLE, c. 1410-1412. BnF, MS FRANÇAIS 2810, f. 168r.

encouraging the study of both the ancient and natural worlds,¹³² Frederick was instrumental in improving relations with the Muslims, negotiating free access to Christian holy sites in Palestine, where all Crusader armies had been unsuccessful.¹³³

One of his innovations was a gold coinage comparable in style and quality to the gold of the ancient Caesars (Illustration 33).¹³⁴ The classical motifs proclaimed his inheritance of the legacy of Rome, and the *augustale* and its fractions were issued concurrently with the publication of the Constitution of Melfi, his codification of Norman law meant to follow the famous Roman law codes. These coins were struck until Frederick's death in 1250, and may have been continued by his successors for about another fifteen years. Following Kantorowicz, it is possible to identify

132. He wrote an insightful treatise on falconry: Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. *The art of falconry: being the De arte venandi cum avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, translated and edited*, eds. Casey A. Wood, F. Marjorie Fyfe. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1943.

133. Takayama, Hiroshi. "Frederick II's crusade: an example of Christian-Muslim diplomacy". *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 25/2 (2010): 169-185.

134. Coinage description: Italy, Sicilia (Regno). Federico I (Federico II, Sacro Romano Impero). 1198-1250. AV Half Augustale (16 mm, 2.61 g, 6h). Brindisi mint. Struck circa 1231-1250. Laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust right / Eagle standing left, head right, with wings spread; two pellets by head.

Frederick II with the emperor Nero as Antichrist.¹³⁵ According to Seneca, Nero could have said:

Have I not been chose to act on earth as vicar of the gods? I am the arbiter of life and death for the peoples. What each man's lot and state shall be is laid into my hands. And what Fortune would bestow on any mortal, she makes known through my mouth.¹³⁶

Sempiternity was attributed also to the Roman Empire. The belief in the continuity of the empire *in finem seculi* was as common in the Middle Ages and as much an established fact as was the late-antique belief in the "eternity" of the city of Rome; and the struggle against Antichrist, expected to take place just before the End, bestowed upon the Christian empire an eschatological function related to that of the militant Church.¹³⁷



ILLUSTRATION 35. SEAL MATRIX OF FREDERICK II. INSCRIPTION: FRIDERICVS. DEI. GR(ATI)A. ROMANOR(VM). REX & SEMP(ER). AVGVSTVS [ET REX SICILIE], 1212. PUBLISHED IN *DIE ZEIT DER STAUFER. GESCHICHTE-KUNST-KULTUR. Bd. 3: AUFSÄTZE KATALOG DER AUSSTELLUNG*. STUTTGART: WÜRTTEMBERGISCHEM LANDESMUSEUMS STUTTGART, 1977, No. 46.

Frederick's awareness of Roman law-centeredness is also quite clear when we read on his seal-matrix inscription (1212): FRIDERICVS. DEI. GR(ATI)A. ROMANOR(VM). REX & SEMP(ER). AVGVSTVS [ET REX SICILIE] (Illustration 35).¹³⁸ In *The Anti-Christ*, Nietzsche had referred to Frederick as "that great free spirit, that genius among German Emperors" and in his *Genealogy of Morals*, he had considered Frederick II to be "even more significant than Frederick the Great".¹³⁹

135. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 116, note 85.

136. Seneca. *De clementia*, ed. Susanna Braund. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: I, 1-2.

137. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 292, note 38; Mommsen, Theodor E. "St. Augustine and the Christian idea of progress: The background of the City of God". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 12/3 (1951): 346-374.

138. Reiner Hausscherr, ed. *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur: Katalog der Ausstellung*. Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977: I, No. 47.

139. As Nietzsche put it: "[...] that much greater Frederick, the Hohenstaufen, Frederick II". Nietzsche, Friedrich. "The Genealogy of Morals", *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Oscar Levy. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964: XIII, 218; Ausmus, Harry J. "Nietzsche...": 350.



5.6 The Later Middle Ages: *Deus et Spiritus*

The different sides of the altarpiece of the Church of the monastery of Santa Maria de Lluçà (Osona) of the second quarter of the 13th century is a full expression of Kantorowicz's manuscripts in categorising the spirit of the French king Saint Louis IX. The scenes on the sides represent Jesus crowning the Virgin (Illustration 36) and the Virgin surrounded by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, accompanied by John the apostle (Illustration 37). This is a significant example dating from the last period of the Italian-Byzantine trend, which came to Catalonia in around the year 1200 and which evolved until the mid-13th century.

It is the same historical period of the Holy Kings (*Mysticism versus Mystery: Rex Sanctus*, as in ms. 1; "Louis IX: Mystic Kingship: Gothic", as in ms. 4; "Mystic Kingship: St. Louis", as in ms. 5). At the same time, for him it is the Age of the Holy Spirit ("Mystery and Mysticism: The Holy Ghost", as in ms. 3), of Marian worship ("Louis IX: Mysticism. Mary Centered", as in ms. 2), and ultimately the moment for Divine Right and the king's visible recognition through liturgy ("Liturgical Kingship and Divine Right", as in ms. 1-3). In ms. 1-3 it is also a revival of Theocentrism (ms.



ILLUSTRATION 36. JESUS CROWNING THE VIRGIN WITH THE INSCRIPTION: REGINA CELORUM. MASTER OF LLUÇÀ, LATERAL ALTAR PIECE FROM SANTA MARIA IN LLUÇÀ, SECOND QUARTER OF THE 13TH CENTURY, MONASTERY CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA IN LLUÇÀ (OSONA). MUSEU EPISCOPAL VIC, 11.



ILLUSTRATION 37. JESUS CROWNING THE HOLY MARY SURROUNDED BY THE SEVEN GIFTS OF THE HOLY GHOST ACCOMPANIED BY THE APOSTLE JOHN. MUSEU EPISCOPAL VIC, 10.



ILLUSTRATION 38. SAINT LOUIS (1126-1270). ECU D'OR (1270?). ANVERS: + LVDOVICVS DEI GRACIA FRANCOR REX. SHIELD OF FRANCE WITH FLEURS DE LIS INSIDE A POLYLOBE. REVERS: + XPC VINCIT XPC REGNAT XPC IMPERAT. FLOWERED CROSS WITH A HEART QUADRILOBE EN COEUR, SIDED BY FOUR FLEURS DE LIS. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

2), Theomimesis and Neo-Arianism as a synthesis for National Kingship (ms. 1 and 3). The complexity and richness of this late medieval period will conclude for him in "Epilogue: *Spiritus et materia: The Modern World*" (only ms. 1).

5.7 Saint Louis between Mystery and Mysticism

Quite early in his academic production, Kantorowicz wrote an article in the No. 2 of the *Harvard Theological Review* in 1941. He commented on the chant of the *laudes*





ILLUSTRATION 39. ST. LOUIS PSALTER, (1270-1274) BNF. MS. LATIN, 10525, F. 85 v. UPPER: DAVID AND BETHSABÉE; LOWER: DAVID PRAYING (PS.1: BEATUS VIR).

regiae, an impressive liturgical acclamation of rulership, which was sung on the great festivals of the Church and at the inaugural coronations of medieval rulers.¹⁴⁰ In this article he wrote that this chant opened with the three clauses *Christus vincit*, *Christus regnat*, *Christus imperat*, which were followed by the invocation *Exaudi, Christe* and the acclamations proper to the various rulers such as pope, emperor, king, empress or queen, princes, bishops, officials, and army. This litany was most widely diffused from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and particularly the three opening clauses had enjoyed a singular popularity in that period. Roger II really had used the

140. For this topic he used the Pierpont Morgan Library. Ms. 379, f. 111r.

triad as a legend for some of his coins.¹⁴¹ This usage was later adopted by Saint Louis, who put this triad on the reverse of the gold coins of France (Illustration 38).¹⁴²

The liturgical fact of the three clauses with their acclamations connect Divine Right with Liturgy in the sense that Liturgical Kingship, (a kingship centred in the God-man rather than in God the Father),¹⁴³ and mean that after the era of Saint Francis, official and popular piety became both more spiritualized and more material; and concomitantly an evasive, and yet distinct, transformation of Christological concepts took place. Man's relation with God retired from the "realism" of the "object-centred mystery" to an inner haze of "subject-centred mysticism" characteristic of later Middle Ages. In iconography the God-man becomes almost indistinguishable from God the Father. Within the political sphere, the more christocratic-juristical idea of government was replaced with the divine model, which later rulers claimed to follow and the idea of the "manhood" of the deity, and there with the quasi-priestly and sacramental essence of kingship gradually faded away. To put it in another fashion: as opposed to the earlier "liturgical" kingship, the late-medieval kingship by "divine right" was modelled after the Father in Heaven rather than after the Son on the Altar, and focused in a philosophy of the Law rather than in the —still antique— physiology of the two-natured Mediator.

The change was not abrupt; in fact, it was slight and subtle like most evolutionary changes in history. There was, nevertheless, a period of transition from the "earlier liturgical kingship" to the late-medieval "kingship by divine right", a period, clear in its contours, during which a royal mediatorship, through strangely secularized, still existed, and during which the idea of royal priesthood was vested in the Law itself.¹⁴⁴

Although Frederick II still fascinated him, Kantorowicz's most sympathetic portrait in *Laudes Regiae*, for example, is not of that mythically heroic emperor but of his saintly contemporary and rival Louis IX of France.¹⁴⁵ It was St. Louis, who in every respect enriched the treasure of grace on which all his successors would thrive. It was he whose kingship was elevated to transcendence by the Spiritualists and Symbolists of his age and who, in turn, bestowed the thin and light air of the angelic kingdoms upon his country. He had, as it were, commended his government to Christ the victorious, the royal, the imperial, whom he himself represented on earth more perfectly, perhaps, than any other king ever did.¹⁴⁶

141. Engel, Arthur. *Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d'Italie*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1882: 40 (doc. No. 50). Quoted by Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "A Norman Finale of the Exultet and the Rite of Sarum". *Harvard Theological Review*, 34/2 (1941): 136, note 27.

142. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "A Norman Finale...": 135-136.

143. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 78.

144. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 93.

145. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Laudes Regiae...": 3-4.

146. Jordan, William C. "Preface", *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Ernst H. Kantorowicz. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957: xiii, note 23.



Ernst Kantorowicz starts in 1942 with a text entitled “Plato in the Middle Ages”¹⁴⁷ in which he refers to the fact that in the Middle Ages, a “period of spiritualized and abstract thinking every problem of the Universals reflected directly upon life itself”.¹⁴⁸ He is of course reviewing the work of Raymond Klibansky of 1939 on *The continuity of the Platonic tradition during the Middle Ages*.¹⁴⁹ The core of the problem is that not only that Kantorowicz’s notion of medieval political theology is Neoplatonic, but moreover it is that the medieval representation of kingship and political power has a Neoplatonic literary basis; sometimes they are biblical, or directly Greek (Plotinus), Roman (Proclus), Patristic whether Latin or Greek (Christian in any case) or simply liturgical (hymns, church consecrations *formulae*, musical lyrics, and so on):

Kantorowicz assumes the Klibansky’s notions about medieval Platonism, which is neither the doctrine of Plato (i.e. Plato’s own thought) nor that of Plotinus or Proclus, but, based on Hellenistic thought, nourished by religious experience, Christian, Jewish, or Islamic, of later centuries, and intimately fused with teachings from Stoic and other philosophies, is, in fine, something new and individual, difficult to bring under a simple heading, but which is always a “religious Platonism” and whose functions, varying in times and schools, may be recognized as sometimes supporting the official religions, sometimes reviving them, or sometimes engulfing theology, as theology had engulfed Platonism in another period.

But (for the Western) its function never ceased to be “Christian” and this, *perforce*, separates the medieval and Renaissance Platonism from Plato himself as well as from Plotinus.

From the Neoplatonic point of view the practice of the political virtues enables men and women to imitate the perfect harmony and order of divine reality in the material world. This is also the fundamental aim of the legislator-philosopher.¹⁵⁰

Following the ideological trends of Neoplatonism,

Political science can be conceived as an instrument through which the philosophical-ruler is able to unify the city and to preserve its unity as far as possible, since the city is a part of the material world and, consequently, is subject to fragmentation and corruption. On the basis of this metaphysical-theological perspective, the philosopher acts as an “intermediary” between

147. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Plato in the Middle Ages”. *The Philosophical Review*, 51/3 (1942): 312-323.

148. Klibansky, Raymond. *The continuity of the Platonic tradition during the Middle Ages: outlines of a Corpus platonicum medii aevi*. London: The Warburg Institute, 1939.

149. In 1933 “Raymond Klibansky, a young historian of philosophy who had known EKa in Heidelberg, [...] wrote a strong letter supporting Kantorowicz for the visiting position” in Oxford. On Klibansky’s visit in Frankfurt with Kantorowicz, see his letters to Gertrud Bing of 5 and 7 July, as treated in Klenner, Jost P. *Bildhistoriker: Ernst Kantorowicz und die Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*. Berlin: Humboldt University Berlin (MA Dissertation), 2003: 12. Lerner, Robert E. *Ernst Kantorowicz...: 394*.

150. Abbate, Michele. “Metaphysics and Theology as Methodological and Conceptual Paradigms in Proclus’ Ethico-Political Theory”, *Proklos. Methode, Seelenlehre, Metaphysik: Akten der Konferenz in Jena Am 18.-20. September 2003*, Perkams, Matthias; Piccione, Rosa Maria, eds. Leiden: Brill, 2006: 194.



*the intelligible and the phenomenal world and, at the same time, between the divine and the human dimension.*¹⁵¹

*L'unité est ainsi unification, l'unification préservation, et la préservation ce qui constitue le bien pour chaque chose, telle est la conviction première des néoplatoniciens.*¹⁵²

5.8 The Son's Excess of Humanisation

The Psalter of Saint Louis (Bibliothèque nationale de France. MS Latin, 10525) is an illuminated psalter created for the King Louis IX sometime between the death of his mother Blanche of Castile in 1253 and his death in 1270. In his book on this Psalter, Harvey Stahl holds that the Old Testament “functions historically and politically” in vernacular histories written for the provincial aristocracy, and asserts that in royally sponsored projects scriptural history has a strongly moral resonance.¹⁵³ In this way, parallels established between the biblical past and the royal present recast Capetian audiences in the image of their biblical forebears. For him, during the reign of Louis IX this allegorical reading of the origins of kingship gained particular currency.

Louis's piety, both personal and institutional, supported a comparison between his kingship and the sacral kingship described in the Old Testament.¹⁵⁴ Stahl examines in his chapter 5, “A royal program”, the iconographic resonance of the prefatory cycle and the first of the Psalm initials for its royal audience. This initial starts with the first verse of the Book of Psalms: *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio (impiorum)* and represents two meaningful scenes: the sin of King David with Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11) and the king (paralleling Louis IX of France) praying God for his sins (Illustration 39). The concept of kingship seems to go back to the Carolingian period with the *Regnum Davidicum* (Illustration 40)¹⁵⁵ and Theomimesis of the Old Testament where there is an excess of humanisation of the Son as the second Person of the Holy Trinity and consequently a detachment from the Father that incurred into what Kantorowicz calls “Neo-Arianism”.

Approximately retracing the sequence of the prefatory cycle's miniatures, Stahl also argues that this program of paintings took up themes of special relevance to the

151. Abbate, Michele. “Metaphysics and Theology...”: 198.

152. “Unity is thus unification, unification preservation, and preservation is what constitutes the good for each thing, this is the primary conviction of the Neoplatonists”. Narbonne, Jean-Marc. “De l'Un Matière à l'Un Forme. La Réponse de Proclus à la Critique Aristotélicienne de l'Unité du Politique dans la République de Platon”, *Pensées de l'Un dans l'Histoire de la Philosophie. Etudes en hommage au professeur Werner Beierwaltes*, Jean M. Narbonne, Alfons Reckermann, eds. Saint-Nicholas: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin- Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2004: 4.

153. Stahl, Harvey. *Picturing kingship. History and painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

154. Stahl, Harvey. *Picturing kingship*...: 163.

155. Left: The people of Israel asks the prophet Samuel for a king. Right: Anointment of Saul as king (I Samuel, 8:10-18; 10:1). BnF. MS Latin, 10525 (St. Louis Psalter), f. 72r (1270-1274).





ILLUSTRATION 40. LEFT: THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL ASK THE PROPHET SAMUEL FOR A KING; RIGHT: ANOINTMENT OF SAUL AS KING (1 SAMUEL, 8:10-18;10:1). ST. LOUIS PSALTER, (1270-1274) BNF. MS. LATIN, 10525, F. 72R.

king; the issue of fate and behaviour; the relation between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, the importance of sacrifice; the origins of kingship; and the continuity and movements of the people of Israel. Through analysis of the picture cycle, Stahl characterizes the figures of Abraham and Saul as meaningful bookends to the prefatory sequence of images. Asking why the cycle should conclude with the deeply ambivalent figure of Saul, Stahl notes that in Vincent of Beauvais's *De morali principis institutione*, a work completed at the same time as the Psalter, Saul's kingship is interpreted as an index of how "God's providence historically leads to kingship".¹⁵⁶

What I am proposing here is that the so called by Kantorowicz "phases of medieval rulership" are "a way of expressing what are the steps of the Exit and Return of

156. Stahl, Harvey. *Picturing kingship*....: 116, 182.

Power from God to men” and likewise a Trinitarian scheme for medieval history. The question is how to establish a proper relationship between the divine Archetype and the exercise of political power, and sometimes between the two natures of God. The most “heavenly-like” kings accentuate the spiritual body of the king (Christian henotheism of Constantine; Apocalyptic or Eschatological in Frederick II; Louis IX’s Mysticism and other conceptions of the Divine Right of the king). The most earthly-like phases of medieval rulership are the Christian mystery cults of Justitian, or the “Son Adopted Arianism” of Theodoric the Great, and the intermediate kingships where the King’s two bodies are supposed to be more balanced in Charlemagne’s *Old Testamentism*; and also the *Apostolism* of Henry III and Gregory VII; the Roman mission or (?) the *Evangelism* of Otto III as well as the holiness of the Saint Kings.

5.9 Epilogue: The Integral Plural Power of the State

We pointed above that the complexity and richness of this late medieval period¹⁵⁷ will conclude for Kantorowicz in his “Epilogue: Spiritus et materia: The Modern World” (only in the ms. 1). The Epilogue of *The King’s Two Bodies*¹⁵⁸ is a vast synthesis of the whole conceptions written along his book, which could be well summarised by the words of Sir Francis Bacon in his treatise on the Empire: *Omnia circa reges praecepta, duobus illis monitis clauduntur: “Memento quod es homo et, Memento quod es Deus, seu Vice-Dei”*.¹⁵⁹

For Kantorowicz, the modern world is the juxtaposition between the two bodies of the king or, to be more precise, the non-constitutional states which were the rule in medieval times. Kantorowicz has described the medieval history of states in terms of the two bodies of the king, while the German lawyer and historian Otto Gierke had provided the most discriminating analysis of non-constitutional medieval government, whose regimes he described as exhibiting Natural Law conceptions of “double majesty”:

[...] a separate personality of the Ruler, distinct from that of the People, was generally recognized as the “Subject” of the rights of government. [...] The dualism of the two personalities —that of the Ruler and that of the People— was an obvious

157. “The examples Kantorowicz found for the Middle Ages and the possible examples we could find in Modernity of the political theology of the modern sovereign considered by Carl Schmitt reveal that the early Christian attempt to set limits definitively between the secular and sacred realms, is always a challenge for every historical moment”. Herrero, Montserrat. “On Political Theology: The Hidden Dialogue between C. Schmitt and Ernst H. Kantorowicz in *The King’s Two Bodies*”. *History of European Ideas*, 41/8 (2015): 1177.

158. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King’s...*: 496-506.

159. “All the precepts concerning the kings are in effect summarised in these two sentences: ‘Remember that you are man’ and ‘Remember that you are God, or vice-God’”. Bacon, Francis. *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Basil Montagu. London: William Pickering, 1834: XV, 294.



survival from the medieval State, with its system of Estates confronting the King; but it was in marked contradiction to the unitary tendency of the modern State.¹⁶⁰

Natural law became the most influential doctrine when the renaissance of Roman law and of Aristotelianism entered into the social philosophy of the Middle Ages as a rationalization of fundamental changes in urban society and the manifestation of the liberation of social thought from theological or political doctrines. In this last chapter of his "Phases of Medieval Rulership", Kantorowicz is aware that what lies between the Christian natural law of the Middle Ages and the secularized rationalistic law of nature is a fundamental revolution in attitudes and ways of thinking.¹⁶¹ Modern natural law introduces utilitarian and psychological motives for understanding the "natural" character of law, while the Christian philosophers were aware of the irreducible character of justice as an innate character of righteousness and equity. The main achievement of secularized natural law is its attempt to create a new foundation for modern social life. The idea of the state as a self-sufficient social body was a discovery of the sixteenth century and implied the existence of social relationships and institutions as dependent or independent of this politically supreme power.¹⁶²

Francis Bacon flourished on the Chancery side. He represented the king's positions to the Commons and won much for him. Bacon was then Attorney-General and represented the crown. The Commons rejected the claim that King James' holding both crowns unified two realms. James appointed a Commission on the Union of England and Scotland, naming Bacon to represent England. Commons declined to approve the report and again denied the automatic naturalization to the Scottish *post-nati*. These *post-nati* were children born in Scotland after James VI of Scotland had become James I of England, uniting both crowns in his own person. This meant that the *ante-nati* would never be English subjects, but that the *post-nati* would automatically be English subjects without parliamentary action simply by operation of natural law. As Gierke pointed out, this is a transformation of the "feudal and medieval" leading directly to Hobbes, who had first-hand knowledge of Bacon's arguments, and to Locke.¹⁶³

Theories of kingship for a thousand years had been based on the king's two bodies. The royal prerogative itself was dualistic: a royal prerogative absolute and a royal prerogative ordinary. These were theories of kingship derived from the historical evidence about kings and kingdoms. The distinction here is a crucial one: Bacon describes Stuart kingship as seen by the common law of England through the law of

160. Gierke, Otto. *Natural Law and the Theory of Society, 1500-1800*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1934, 2 vols. Quoted in Wheeler, Harvey. "The Constitutional Ideas of Francis Bacon". *Political Research Quarterly*, 9/4 (1956): 927-936.

161. In this sense, Kantorowicz's quotations of Francis Bacon in Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's...*: 215, 333, 381, 445.

162. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Pro patria mori in medieval political thought". *The American Historical Review*, 56/3 (1951): 472-492.

163. Gierke, Otto, "Natural Law...": 1934.



nature.¹⁶⁴ This distinction demonstrates that the common law recognizes the natural law basis of the king's two bodies. The result Bacon produces is a new dualistic natural law proto-constitution of England's monarchy. This construct is the dualistic structure that provided the basis for the constitutional struggles and theories of the future, in both England and America.

But this problem is concerning the Tudor dynasty in part I of *The King's Two Bodies* and entitles as "The problem: Plowden Reports" (pages 7-23). The office of monarch was attached, in traditional understandings of charisma, to the individual king or queen sitting on the throne. The English propensity for limiting monarchy, however, meant that a legal fiction was needed in order to maintain a separation between the person of the monarch and the office that person held. This legal fiction became particularly important during the Tudor dynasty, when three of its five monarchs were in some way believed inadequate for the position: one minor (Edward VI) and two women (Mary I and Elizabeth I). The legislative reaction to this problem was to make distinct the monarch's body natural (personal, physical body) from his or her body politic (the metaphysical construct of the monarch-in-state), as is described in Edmund Plowden's *Commentaries or Reports* (Illustration 41) in a response to a land-disposition case in 1562:

*The King has two Bodies, viz., a Body natural, and a Body Politic. His Body natural [...] is a Body mortal, subject to all infirmities that come by Nature or Accident [...]. But his Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People [...] and this Body is utterly void of [...] natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to.*¹⁶⁵

Francis Bacon develops, further, from *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) (Illustration 42) that this basic likeness between English common law and Roman Civil Law is founded in "nature":

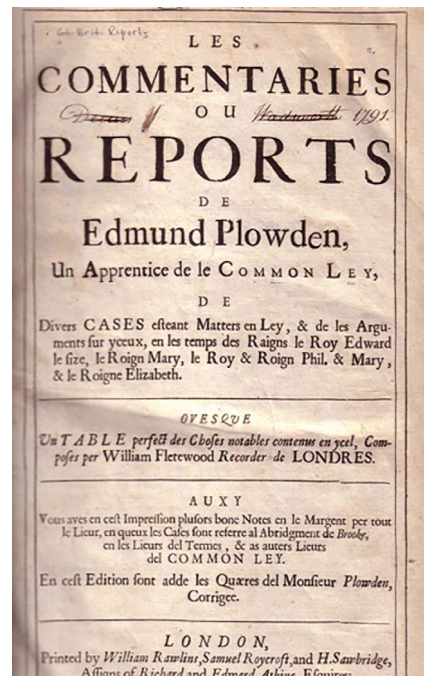


ILLUSTRATION 41. EDMUND PLOWDEN. *LES COMMENTARIES OU REPORTS*. LONDON: WILLIAM RAWLINS, 1684. TITLE PAGE. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

164. Rose, Jacqueline. *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660-1688*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011: 4.

165. Plowden, Edmund. *Commentaries or Reports*. Dublin: H. Watts, 1792: 212a; Bezio, Kristin. "Drama & Demigods: Kingship and Charisma in Shakespeare's England". *Religions*, 4/1 (2013): 44.



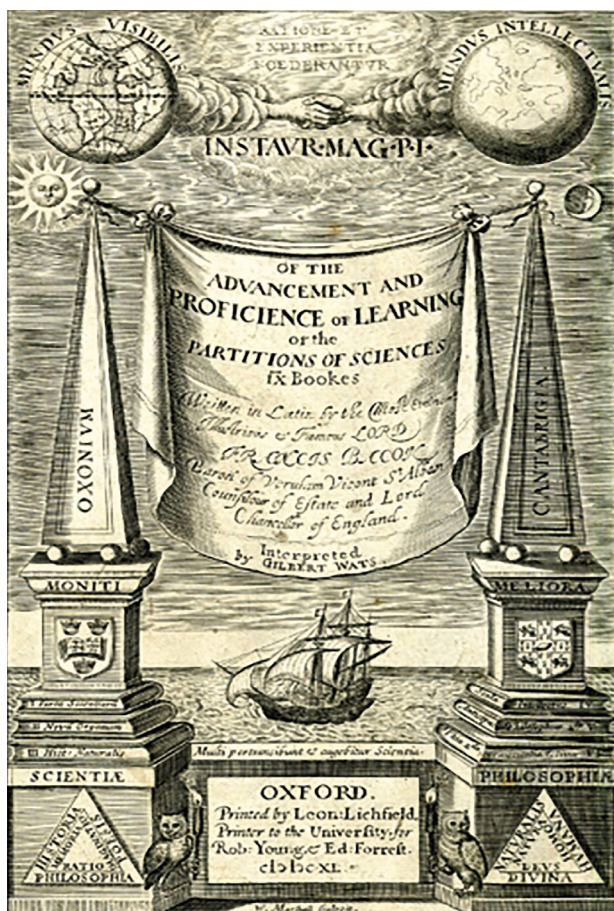


ILLUSTRATION 42. FRANCIS BACON. *OF THE ADVANCEMENT AND PROFICIENCY OF LEARNING*, TRANS. GILBERT WATS. OXFORD: LEON LIECHFIELD, 1640. TITLE PAGE. TITLE ON SHEET HELD BETWEEN TWO OBELISKS MARKED "OXONIUM" AND "CANTABRIGIA", WITH SHIP BELOW; TWO GLOBES IN THE SKY FROM WHICH EXTEND CLASPING HANDS; OWLS HOLDING TORCHES BESIDE PLINTHS OF OBELISKS. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

there are in nature certain fountains of justice, whence all civil laws are derived but as streams; and like as waters do take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws vary according to the regions and governments where they are planted, though they proceed from the same fountains.¹⁶⁶

166. Bacon, Francis. "Discourse Upon the Commission of Bridewell", *Works of Francis Bacon*, eds. James Spedding, Robert Leslie, Douglas Denon Heath. London: Longman, 1857: VII, 509.

These ideas of “reason”, “justice” and “nature” are drawn still nearer together by Bacon’s statement in *De Augmentis* (Illustration 43) that laws derive from “natural equity” and by his proposal “to exhibit a character and idea of justice, in general comparison with which the laws of particular states and kingdoms may be tested and amended”.¹⁶⁷ His *Post-Nati* (1608) argument likewise expounds at length the view that English law in particular “is grounded upon the law of nature”.¹⁶⁸ And the circle is closed by *An Advertisement Touching an Holy War* (1622), where the “laws of nature and nations” are said to be fixed by “Natural Reason”.¹⁶⁹

And all this leads again to the “Hobbes’s insistence that ‘this is more than Consent, or Concord; it is a real Unity of them all, in one and the same Person’”, and confirms again the Ernst Kantorowicz’s observation that in Renaissance theories of sovereignty the king’s artificial, metaphoric Body Politic was seen to represent his most authentic presence.¹⁷⁰ In Hobbes on the contrary, the real and determining authority of the collective figure of the commonwealth arises through a conflation of questions of representation and force. The strength of the commonwealth depends on its ability to represent the multiplicity of its participants in “one Will”: “The only way to erect such a common power” is for all men “to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or Assembly of men, to beare their Person”. The force of the ruler’s “Person” derives not so much from the “Power and Strength” conferred on him, as from his ability to represent the plural power of the state in an integral form (Illustrations 44 and 45).

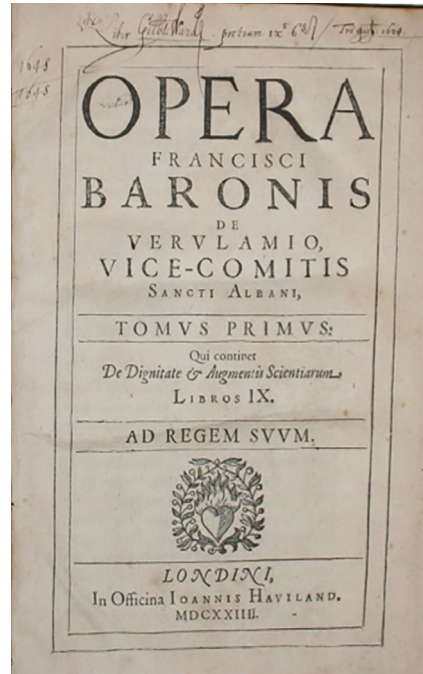


ILLUSTRATION 43. FRANCIS BACON. *OPERA*. TOMVS PRIMVS: QUI CONTINET DE DIGNITATE & AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM. LIBROS IX. LONDON: JOANNIS HAVILAND, 1623. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

167. Bacon, Francis. “De Augmentis”, *Works of Francis Bacon*, eds. James Spedding, Robert Leslie, Douglas Denon Heath. London: Longman, 1857: V, 88.

168. Bacon, Francis. “Post-Nati”, *Works of Francis Bacon*, eds. James Spedding, Robert Leslie, Douglas Denon Heath. London: Longman, 1857: VII, 663.

169. Bacon, Francis. “An Advertisement Touching An Holy War”, *Works of Francis Bacon*, eds. James Spedding, Robert Leslie, Douglas Denon Heath. London: Longman, 1857: VII, 30. On the source of this paragraph, see Kocher, Paul H. “Francis Bacon on the science of jurisprudence”. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 18 (1957): 10.

170. Kantorowicz Ernst H., *The King’s...*: 5.



At the same time, Hobbes does not abandon his earlier insistence on the terrorizing power of the Sovereign Person; he conflates it with the sovereign's representational effectiveness:

by this Authoritie, given him by every particular man in the Common-Wealth, he hath the use of so much Power and Strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is inabled to forme the wills of them all. The "terror" of the sovereign's accumulated "power and strength", which seems to be conferred upon him by the act of authorization itself, now doesn't restrain or oppose the subjects' desires, but actually "forms" their "wills" Hobbes's conception of the sovereign representative allows him to resolve the problem of self-interest by conceiving a terrifying presence which at once restrains and crystallizes the individual will.¹⁷¹

6. Conclusions

1. Kantorowicz transposes an enriched Trinitarian scheme to his concept of the Middle Ages. His real source as historian is to observe the theological structure of the Trinity and her internal dynamism (mutual relationships between the different Persons), the history of Dogmatic Theology and Tradition (Patristic and Ecumenical Councils) and the Church Legislation (the Canon Law and its variations) in order to define his notion of human power as connected with God the source of real sovereignty. In this way, the editorial story of "The Quinity of Winchester" can be useful to introduce a Trinitarian scheme for medieval history in the particular Kantorowicz historiographical position.
2. The interpretation of the five manuscripts from the Leo Baeck Institute Archives suggest a Trinitarian scheme for history but also respond to a Joachinite-Nietzschean tripartite hermeneutic division and the fact that Kantorowicz felt a strong theoretical attraction by the work of the German philosopher Frederick Nietzsche's and his connection with the historical character of the Emperor Frederick II. Kantorowicz was a modern humanist, who emphasised the 'enlightened' features of Frederick's ruler and stood up, immediately after Hitler's seizure of power, as a defender of the "Weimarian principles of toleration and safeguarding human dignity". These resonances help to explain why Kantorowicz wavered for a brief but significant moment in the summer of 1933 in his rejection of a regime that had already begun to persecute him.
3. The five of Kantorowicz's manuscripts corresponding to the late year 1943 constitute drafts of the index of a book in preparation entitled "Phases of Mediaeval Rulership. Dealing with the Cultural and Ritual Background of Rulership from Constantine to Saint Louis". This book is included in a more general plan of future publications that is uncovered in our text thanks to a series of typewritten texts by Kantorowicz

171. Pye, Christopher. "The Sovereign, the Theater, and the Kingdome of Darknesse: Hobbes and the Spectacle of Power". *Representations*, 8 (1984): 88-89.



himself. There is a crucial relationship between his project on “Phases of Medieval Rulership” (early 40s) and the final version of *The King's Two Bodies* (1957). The former is a kind of primitive version of the latter though with no allusion to the metaphor of the two bodies of the king perfectly formulated in Tudor England and perfectly ritually performed in early modern France. In *The King's*, Kantorowicz claimed these early modern phenomena to be late expressions of what he thought to be at the core of medieval political theology, tracing this 16th and 17th century theory back to the Ottonians, the Carolingians, and even the very beginnings of the Middle Ages. These traces of a Tudor tenet back through the Middle Ages are not yet present in the draft index of his 1943 “Phases of Medieval Rulership” although “the idea of the virtual identity of predecessor and successor” is already suggested in the manuscripts we publish now. Only parts III, IV and V of *The King's Two Bodies* seem to be present in his draft of 1943, whereas his commentary on the “Plowden Reports” (part I), the use of Shakespeare (part II), “On continuity and corporations” (part VI), “The King never dies” (part VII) and his use of Dante Alighieri (part VIII) is omitted. There are also a number of issues or terms (for instance, the terms “Henotheism”, “Tribal kingship”, “Neo-Arianism” and many others) that are present in his 1943 draft index and will not appear in the King's text of 1957.

4. There is a theoretical parallelism between the historian Ernst Kantorowicz and the legal and political German theorist Carl Schmitt.¹⁷² The former's use of the expression “Political Theology” seems to derive from the latter's assertion that “all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are ‘secularized theological concepts’”. But in studying our manuscripts 1 to 5 it is quite clear that Kantorowicz cannot assume for his Trinitarian scheme of the phases of medieval kingship the main postulates of Carl Schmitt's “Political Theology”: (1) “Sovereign is he who decides on the exception”; (2) the notion of “exception” as “the appropriate moment for stepping outside the rule of law in the public interest;” and that (3) “All significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts”.¹⁷³

There seems to be a difficult historiographical problem when someone tries to shed light on the problem of the origin of the expression “Political Theology”. It looks like Schmitt used it first but not exactly in the same sense as Kantorowicz and others when they write about medieval political theology, though it is plausible that Kantorowicz had never read Schmidt because, in addition to some other reasons, Schmitt's book is not stated as existing in Kantorowicz's large library of his German period as recorded in the Leo Baeck Institute Archives in the New York City.

Nor does Kantorowicz quote the German theologian Erik Peterson, although he does make the “exchange” of imperial and sacerdotal semiotics, the mutual mimicry of Roman emperors and popes in the representation of their divine rights the point of departure of that study, but without particular interest in the theological dimension.

172. On this, Herrero, Montserrat. “On Political Theology...”: 1164-1177.

173. Schmitt, Carl. *Political Theology*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005: 36.



Instead of Peterson, he quotes the German historian Percy Schramm who speaks of an “exchange of privileges” between *sacerdotium* and *regnum* but limits his approach to the history of ideas.¹⁷⁴ Only occasionally, in the notes to a smaller study of the early fifties,¹⁷⁵ Kantorowicz had put a date to his use of the term “Political Theology”: “the early thirties”, which refers, presumably, to Erik Peterson’s essay *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem* of 1935, whose subtitle, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Theologie im Imperium Romanum*, parallels Kantorowicz’s.¹⁷⁶

5. The end of Kantorowicz’s doctrine on the two bodies as concerning the Middle Ages comes with the renaissance of Natural law as a rationalization of fundamental changes in urban society and the manifestation of the liberation of social thought from theological or political doctrines. Theories of kingship for a thousand years had been based on the king’s two bodies. The royal prerogative itself was dualistic: a royal prerogative absolute and a royal prerogative ordinary. These were theories of kingship derived from the historical evidence about kings and kingdoms. The distinction here is a crucial one: Francis Bacon describes Stuart kingship as seen by the common law of England through the law of nature. This description demonstrates that the common law recognizes the natural law basis of the king’s two bodies. The result Bacon produces is a new dualistic natural law proto-constitution of England’s monarchy. This is the dualistic structure that provided the basis for the constitutional struggles and theories of the future, in both England and America. With this structure, the opposition between *Materia* and *Spiritus* in the last phase of medieval rulership can be understood and both, our commentary of his manuscripts and likewise Kantorowicz’s book *The King’s Two Bodies* end at the same time and probably in the same sense: the Modern period has come yet.

174. Schramm, Percy E. “‘Sacerdotium’ und ‘Regnum’ im Austausch ihrer Vorrechte: Eine Skizze d. Entwicklung z. Beleuchtung des ‘Dictatus Papae’ Gregors VII”. *Studi gregoriani*, 2 (1947): 403-457. See also Schramm, Percy E. *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929, 2 vols. From Haverkamp, Anselm. “Richard II, Bracton, and the End of Political Theology”. *Law and Literature*, 16/3 (2004): 314. Schramm’s “two-volume work on the emperor Otto III, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, had been influenced by the Warburg School of art history in exploring imperial Roman symbolism as a form of propaganda in the Ottonian era”. Lerner, Robert E. *Ernst Kantorowicz*...: 311-312.

175. This idea is clearly referred to Kantorowicz when he says: “Under the impact of those exchanges between canon and civilian glossators and commentators—all but non-existent in the earlier Middle Ages—something came into being which then was called ‘Mysteries of State’, and which today in a more generalising sense is often termed ‘Political Theology’”. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Mysteries of State...”: 67, note 6. The expression, much discussed in Germany in the early 1930s, has become more popular in this country, through LaPiana, George. “Political Theology”, *The Interpretation of History*, Joseph R. Strayer, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943. Herrero, Montserrat. “On Political Theology...”: 1174

176. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. “Mysteries of State...”.

